

20

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Number 36

Selections from
**The Makers
of Canada**

EDITED WITH NOTES BY
JOHN C. SAUL, M.A.

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE selections in this book are taken from "The Makers of Canada," a series of biographies in twenty volumes, covering the whole course of Canadian history. These volumes, which have been in course of publication for the last five years by Morang & Co., Limited, were prepared by Canadian authors, under the editorial supervision of Professor Pelham Edgar, Mr. Duncan Campbell Scott, and Mr. W. D. Le Sueur.

The editor, in making the selections, has chosen those that seemed to him most suited for school use, keeping always in mind the advisability of having as many types of style, subject-matter, and treatment as possible. In some cases paragraphs and sentences have been left out, where they referred to matters touched on elsewhere, and a few verbal changes have been made; but, with these exceptions, the text is an exact copy of the original. The notes have been made as brief as possible, and are for purposes of explanation only. Biographical sketches of the leading characters mentioned in the text have been placed in an Appendix at the end of the book.

TORONTO, February 1, 1909.

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TO CANADA AND ITS MAKERS

O LATEST warder of democracy,
The nations westward turn their eager eyes
On thee to watch thy aspirant hosts arise
A mighty people, strong, reliant, free,
With souls unstained by foulest sorcery
Of noxious demagogues whose wiles disguise
Their sanguine lusts, and whose polluted lies
Besmirch the fairest form of liberty!

Not with a Titan's strength shalt thou be strong,
Nor build thine empire with the power that can:
No kingdom bides whose pillars stand on wrong:—
Free first the bonds that bind the mind of man,
Then truth shall triumph (though the strife be long)
And earth bloom loveliest since the world began.

J. D. LOGAN.

THE HURON INDIANS

FROM "SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN," BY NARCISSE E.
DIONNE

THE Huron country was situated between the peninsula watered by Lake Simcoe on the eastern side, and by the Georgian Bay on the western side. It extended from north to south between the rivers Severn and Nottawasaga. This land is twenty-five leagues in 5 length and seven or eight in width. The soil, though sandy, was fertile and produced in abundance corn, beans, pumpkins and the annual helianth or sun-flower, from which the Hurons extracted the oil. The neighbouring tribes, such as the Ottawas and the Algonquins, 10 used to procure their provisions from the Hurons, as they were permanently cultivating their lands.

Although the Hurons appeared to be happy, their mode of living was miserable. Their principal articles of food were Indian corn and common beans, which 15 they prepared in various ways. Their clothing was made of the skins of wild animals. Deer skin was used for their trousers, which were cut loose, and their stockings were made of another piece of the same skin, while their boots were formed of the skin of bears, 20 beavers and deer. They also wore a cloak in the Egyptian style, with sleeves which were attached by a string behind. Most of them painted their faces black and red, and dyed their hair, which some wore long, others short, and others again on one side only. 25 The women and girls were dressed like men, except

that they had their robes, which extended to the knee, girt about them. They all dressed their hair in one uniform style, carefully combed, dyed and oiled. For ornaments they wore quantities of porcelain, chains
5 and necklaces, besides bracelets and ear-rings.

These people were of a happy temperament generally, though some had a sad and gloomy countenance. Physically they were well proportioned. Some of the men and women had fine figures, strong and robust,
10 and many of the women were powerful and of unusual height. The greater portion of the work fell to the lot of the women, who looked after the housework, tilled the land, laid up a store of wood for the winter, beat the hemp and spun it, and made fishing nets from
15 the thread. They also gathered in the harvest and prepared it for food. The occupation of the men was hunting for deer, fishing, and building their cabins, varied at times by war. When they were free from these occupations, they visited other tribes with whom
20 they were acquainted for the purpose of traffic or exchange, and their return was celebrated by dances and festivities.

The children enjoyed great freedom. The parents indulged them too much and never punished or corrected them. As a consequence they grew up bad and
25 vicious. They would often strike their mothers, and when they were powerful enough they did not hesitate to strike their fathers.

The Hurons did not recognize any divine power
30 or worship of God. They were without belief, and lived like brute beasts, with this exception, that they had a sort of fear of an evil spirit. They had *ogni* or *manitous*, who were medicine-men, and who healed the sick, bound up the wounded, foretold future events,

and practised all the abuses and illusions of the black arts.¹

The following was their mode of government. The older and leading men assembled in a council, in which they settled upon and proposed all that was necessary 5 for the affairs of the village. This was done by a plurality of voices, or in accordance with the advice of some one among them whose judgment they considered superior; such a one was requested by the company to give his opinion on the propositions that had been 10 made, and his opinion was minutely obeyed. They had no particular chief with absolute command, but they honoured the older and more courageous men, of which there were several in a village, whom they named captains, as a mark of distinction and respect. 15

They all deliberated in common, and whenever any member of the assembly offered to do anything for the welfare of the village, or to go anywhere for the service of the community, he was requested to present himself, and if he was judged capable of carrying out what he 20 proposed, they exhorted him, by fair and favourable words, to do his duty. They declared him to be an energetic man, fit for the undertaking, and assured him that he would win honour in accomplishing his task. In a word, they encouraged him by flatteries, in order 25 that this favourable disposition of his for the welfare of his fellow-citizens might continue and increase. Then, according to his pleasure, he accepted or refused the responsibility, and thereby he was held in high esteem.

They had, moreover, general assemblies with repre- 30 sentatives from remote regions. These representatives came every year, one from each province, and met in a

¹ *Black arts.* The practice of magic.

town designated as the rendezvous of the assembly. Here were celebrated great banquets and dances, for three weeks or a month, according as they might determine. On these occasions they renewed their friendship, resolved upon and decreed what they thought best for the preservation of their country against their enemies, and made each other handsome presents, after which they retired to their own districts.

In burying the dead, the Hurons took the body of the deceased, wrapped it in furs, and covered it very carefully with the bark of trees. Then they placed it in a cabin, of the length of the body, made of bark and erected upon four posts. Others they placed in the ground, propping up the earth on all sides that it might not fall on the body, which they covered with the bark of trees, putting earth on top. Over this trench they also made a little cabin. The bodies remained thus buried for a period of eight or ten years. Then they held a general council, to which all the people of the country were invited, for the purpose of determining upon some place for the holding of a great festival. After this they returned each to his own village, where they took all the bones of the deceased, stripped them and made them quite clean. Then all the relatives and friends of the deceased took these bones, together with their necklaces, furs, axes, kettles, and other things highly valued, and carried them, with a quantity of edibles, to the place assigned. Here, when all had assembled, they put the edibles in a place designated by the men of the village, and engaged in banquets and continual dancing. The festival lasted for the space of ten days, during which other tribes from all quarters came to witness the ceremonies. The latter were attended with great outlays.

EARLY STRUGGLES WITH THE INDIANS

FROM "BISHOP LAVAL," BY A. LEBLOND DE BRUMATH

UP to this time the missions to the Five Nations¹ had been ephemeral; by the first one Father Jogues² had only been able to fertilize with his blood this barbarous soil; the second, established at Gannentaha,³ escaped the general massacre in 1658 only by a genuine 5 miracle. This mission was commanded by Captain Dupuis, and comprised fifty-five Frenchmen. Five Jesuit Fathers were of the number, among them Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon. Everything up to that time had gone wonderfully well in the new estab- 10 lishment; the missionaries knew the Iroquois language so well, and so well applied the rules of savage eloquence, that they impressed all the surrounding tribes; accordingly they were full of trust and dreamed of a rapid extension of the Catholic faith in these territories. An 15

¹ *Five Nations.* The Iroquois confederacy was composed of five tribes, Cayugas, Senecas, Oneidas, Mohawks, and Onondagas. In 1715, the Tuscaroras joined the confederacy, which was thenceforth known as the Six Nations. The five tribes lived in the lake region of Central New York.

² *Father Jogues.* In 1646, Father Jogues, one of the most devoted and intrepid of the early Jesuit missionaries to Canada, was murdered by the Mohawks, enduring frightful tortures. A full account of his work and martyrdom is given in *The Jesuits in North America*, by Francis Parkman.

³ *Gannentaha.* An Iroquois town on the shores of Lake Onondaga in New York State. The word means "Material for Council-Fire."

Iroquois chief¹ dispelled their illusion by revealing to them the plans of their enemies; they were already watched, and preparations were on foot to cut off their retreat. In this peril the colonists took counsel, and
5 hastily constructed in the granaries of their quarters a few boats, some canoes and a large barge, destined to transport the provisions and the fugitives. They had to hasten, because the attack against their establishment might take place at any moment, and they must
10 profit by the breaking up of the ice, which was impending. But how could they transport this little flotilla to the river which flowed into Lake Ontario twenty miles away without giving the alarm and being massacred at the first step? They adopted a singular
15 stratagem derived from the customs of these people, and one in which the fugitives succeeded perfectly. "A young Frenchman adopted by an Indian," relates Jacques de Beaudoncourt,² "pretended to have a dream by which he was warned to make a festival, 'to
20 eat everything,' if he did not wish to die presently. 'You are my son,' replied the Iroquois chief, 'I do not want you to die; prepare the feast and we shall eat everything.' No one was absent; some of the French who were invited made music to charm the guests.
25 They ate so much, according to the rules of Indian civility, that they said to their host, 'Take pity on us, and let us go and rest.' 'You want me to die, then?' 'Oh, no!' And they betook themselves to eating again as best they could. During this time the other

¹ *Iroquois chief.* This chief had recently been converted and baptized. On his death bed he revealed the plot.

² *Jacques de Beaudoncourt.* The author of a popular *History of Canada* in French, published in 1887.

Frenchmen were carrying to the river the boats and provisions. When all was ready the young man said: 'I take pity on you; stop eating; I shall not die. I am going to have music played to lull you to sleep.' And sleep was not long in coming, and the French, slipping 5 hastily away from the banquet hall, rejoined their comrades. They had left the dogs and the fowls behind, in order the better to deceive the savages; a heavy snow, falling at the moment of their departure, had concealed all traces of their passage, and the banqueters imagined 10 that a powerful Manitou had carried away the fugitives, who would not fail to come back and avenge themselves. After thirteen days of toilsome navigation, the French arrived in Montreal, having lost only three men from drowning during the passage. It had been thought 15 that they were all massacred, for the plans of the Iroquois had become known in the colony; this escape brought the greatest honour to Captain Dupuis, who had successfully carried it out."

M. d'Argenson,¹ then governor, did not approve 20 of the retreat of the captain; this advanced bulwark protected the whole colony, and he thought that the French should have held out to the last man. This selfish opinion was disavowed by the great majority; the real courage of a leader does not consist in having 25 all his comrades massacred to no purpose, but in saving by his calm intrepidity the largest possible number of soldiers for his country.

The Iroquois were tricked but not disarmed. Beside themselves with rage at the thought that so many 30 victims about to be sacrificed to their hatred had

¹ *M. d'Argenson.* The Vicomte d'Argenson was governor of Canada from 1658 to 1661.

escaped their blows, they persuaded the other nations to join them in a rush upon Quebec. They succeeded easily, and twelve hundred savage warriors assembled at Cleft Rock, on the outskirts of Montreal, and exposed the colony to the most terrible danger which it had yet experienced.

This was indeed a great peril; the dwellings above Quebec were without defence, and separated so far from each other that they stretched out nearly two leagues. But providentially the plan of these terrible foes was made known to the inhabitants of the town through an Iroquois prisoner. Immediately the most feverish activity was exerted in preparations for defence; the country houses and those of the Lower Town were abandoned, and the inhabitants took refuge in the palace, in the fort, with the Ursulines, or with the Jesuits; redoubts were raised, loop-holes bored and patrols established. At Ville-Marie no fewer precautions were taken; the governor surrounded a mill, which he had erected in 1658, by a palisade, a ditch, and four bastions well entrenched. It stood on a height of the St. Louis Hill, and, called at first the Mill on the Hill, it became later the citadel of Montreal. Anxiety still prevailed everywhere but God, who knows how to raise up, in the very moment of despair, the instruments which He uses in His infinite wisdom to protect the countries dear to His heart, that same God who gave to France the heroic Joan of Arc, produced for Canada an unexpected defender. Dollard¹

¹ *Dollard*. Adam Daulac, or Dollard, Sieur des Ormeaux, was at this time but twenty-two years of age, and had been in the colony for three years. Little is known of him prior to his great exploit, except that he was of good family, and had had some military training in France.

and sixteen brave Montrealers were to offer themselves as victims to save the colony. Their devotion, which surpasses all that history shows of splendid daring, proves the exaltation of the souls of those early colonists.

5

One morning in the month of July, 1660, Dollard, accompanied by sixteen valiant comrades, presented himself at the altar of the church in Montreal; these Christian heroes came to ask the God of the strong to bless the resolve which they had taken to go and sacrifice themselves for their brothers. Immediately after mass, tearing themselves from the embraces of their relatives, they set out, and after a long and toilsome march arrived at the foot of the Long Rapid, on the left bank of the Ottawa; the exact point where they stopped is probably Greece's Point, five or six miles above Carillon, for they knew that the Iroquois returning from the hunt must pass this place. They installed themselves within a wretched palisade, where they were joined almost at once by two Indian chiefs who, having challenged each other's courage, sought an occasion to surpass one another in valour. They were Anahotaha, at the head of forty Hurons, and Métiomégue, accompanied by four Algonquins.

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They had not long to wait; two canoes bore the Iroquois crews within musket shot; those who escaped the terrible volley which received them and killed the majority of them, hastened to warn the band of three hundred other Iroquois from whom they had become detached. The Indians, relying on an easy victory, hastened up, but they hurled themselves in vain upon the French, who, sheltered by their weak palisade, crowned its stakes with the heads of their enemies as these were beaten down. Exasperated by this unex-

pected check, the Iroquois broke up the canoes of their adversaries, and, with the help of these fragments, which they set on fire, attempted to burn the little fortress; but a well sustained fire prevented the rashest
5 from approaching. Their pride yielding to their thirst for vengeance, these three hundred men found themselves too few before such intrepid enemies, and they sent for aid to a band of five hundred of their people, who were camped on the Richelieu Islands. These
10 hastened to the attack, and eight hundred men rushed upon a band of heroes strengthened by the sentiment of duty, the love of country and faith in a happy future. Futile efforts! The bullets made terrible havoc in their ranks, and they recoiled again, carrying with them
15 only the assurance that their numbers had not paralyzed the courage of the French.

But the aspect of things was about to change, owing to the cowardice of the Hurons. Water failed the besieged tortured by thirst; they made sorties from
20 time to time to procure some, and could bring back in their small and insufficient vessels only a few drops, obtained at the greatest peril. The Iroquois, aware of this fact, profited by it in order to offer life and pardon to the Indians who would go over to their side. No
25 more was necessary to persuade the Hurons, and suddenly thirty of them followed La Mouche, the nephew of the Huron chief, and leaped over the palisades. The brave Anahotaha fired a pistol shot at his nephew, but missed him. The Algonquins remained faithful,
30 and died bravely at their post. The Iroquois learned through these deserters the real number of those who were resisting them so boldly; they then took an oath to die to the last man rather than renounce victory, rather than cast thus an everlasting opprobrium on

their nation. The bravest made a sort of shield with fagots tied together, and, placing themselves in front of their comrades, hurled themselves upon the palisades, attempting to tear them up.

The supreme moment of the struggle has come; 5 Dollard is aware of it. While his brothers in arms make frightful gaps in the ranks of the savages by well-directed shots, he loads with grape shot a musket which is to explode as it falls, and hurls it with all his might. Unhappily, the branch of a tree stays the passage of 10 the terrible engine of destruction, which falls back upon the French and makes a bloody gap among them. "Surrender!" cries La Mouche to Anahotaha. "I have given my word to the French; I shall die with them," replies the bold chief. Already some stakes 15 were torn up, and the Iroquois were about to rush like an avalanche through this breach, when a new Horatius Cocles,¹ as brave as the Roman, made his body a shield for his brothers, and soon the axe which he held in his hand dripped with blood. He fell, and was at once 20 replaced. The French succumbed one by one; they were seen brandishing their weapons up to the moment of their last breath, and, riddled with wounds, they resisted to the last sigh. Drunk with vengeance, the wild conquerors turned over the bodies to find some 25 still palpitating, that they might bind them to a stake of torture; three were in their mortal agony, but they died before being cast on the pyre. A single one was

¹ *Horatius Cocles*. When the Tuscan army under Lars Porsenna threatened Rome, in the effort to restore the Tarquins, Horatius Cocles held them back, while his comrades were engaged in cutting down the bridge over the Tiber. After the bridge had fallen, Horatius plunged into the river, and reached the opposite shore in safety.

saved for the stake; he heroically resisted the refinements of the most barbarous cruelty; he showed no weakness, and did not cease to pray for his executioners. Everything in this glorious deed of arms must compel
5 the admiration of the most remote posterity.

The wretched Hurons suffered the fate which they had deserved; they were burned in the different villages. Five escaped, and it was by their reports that men learned the details of an exploit which saved
10 the colony. The Iroquois, in fact, considering what a handful of brave men had accomplished, took it for granted that a frontal attack on such men could result only in failure; they changed their tactics, and had recourse anew to their warfare of surprises and ambus-
15 cades, with the purpose of destroying gradually the little colony.

FRONTENAC'S FIRST EXPEDITION

FROM "COUNT FRONTENAC," BY WILLIAM D. LE
SUEUR

IN the spring ¹ of the year Frontenac had given orders that men and canoes should be held in readiness; and, as the supply of available canoes was likely to fall short, he had ordered that a number of new ones should be built. He also directed the construction of two flat- 5 boats, similar to the one used by Courcelles,² but of twice the capacity. On the 3rd of June he started with a certain force from Quebec, and after visiting and inspecting different posts along the river, arrived at Montreal, the point of rendezvous, on the 15th of 10 the same month. Here he was received, according to his own account, which there is no reason to question, with the greatest enthusiasm and *éclat*.

We can imagine the zeal with which the local governor, Perrot, would receive the king's direct representative. 15 All the troops that the island could furnish were drawn

¹ *In the spring.* Frontenac arrived in Canada as governor in the fall of 1672. He spent the winter at Quebec, and set out on his expedition on the 3rd of June, 1673.

² *Courcelles.* Daniel de Rémy de Courcelles was governor of Canada from 1665 to 1672. In 1671 he paid a visit to Cataragui, and, for the purpose of his expedition, had provided himself with a flat-boat of two or three tons burden which could be rowed in smooth water and dragged up difficult places on the rapids. The boat carried a crew of eight men.

up under arms at the landing-place, and salvos of artillery and musketry gave emphasis to the official words of welcome. The officers of justice and the "syndic"—the spokesman of the people in municipal matters—were next presented, and, after they had delivered addresses, a procession was formed to the church, at the door of which the clergy were waiting to receive the viceregal visitor with all due honour. By the time the appropriate services, including the chanting of the *Te Deum*, had been concluded, the sun had sunk behind the mountain. It was the hour for rest and refreshment, and the governor was conducted to the quarters assigned to him in the fort, beneath the windows of which tranquilly rolled the mighty flood of the St. Lawrence, still bright with the evening glow.

Frontenac had brought with him his military guard, consisting of twenty men or so, his staff, and a few volunteers. Additional men were to follow from Quebec, Three Rivers, and other places; and some were to be recruited at Montreal. In ten or twelve days everything was in readiness. A waggon-road had been made to Lachine, over which baggage, provisions, and munitions of war were conveyed; and a start was made from that point on the 30th June, the whole force consisting of about four hundred men, including some Huron Indians, in one hundred and twenty canoes and the two flat-boats already mentioned. Some time before setting out Frontenac had sent on, as an envoy to the five Iroquois nations, to invite them to a conference, Cavalier de la Salle, a man who had already penetrated some distance into the western country, and who was destined to achieve the highest fame as an explorer.

The voyage up the river was attended, as had indeed

been expected, with serious difficulty. The united strength of fifty men was necessary to draw each of the flat-boats up the side of some of the rapids. The whole force, however, worked with the utmost zeal and goodwill; the Hurons in particular accomplishing wonders 5 of strength and endurance such as they had never been known to perform for any previous commander. But if portions of the journey were thus arduous, others were delightful. Thus we read in Frontenac's own narrative: "It would be impossible to have finer 10 navigation or more favourable weather than we had on the 3rd of July, a light north-east breeze having sprung up which enabled our bateaux to keep up with the canoes. On the 4th we pursued our journey and came to the most beautiful piece of country that can be 15 imagined, the river being strewn with islands, the trees in which are all either oak or other kinds of hard wood, while the soil is admirable. The banks on both sides of the river are not less charming, the trees, which are very high, standing out distinctly and forming as fine groves 20 as you could see in France. On both sides may be seen meadows covered with rich grass and a vast variety of lovely wild flowers; so that it may be safely stated that from the head of Lake St. Francis to the next rapid above, you could not see a more beautiful 25 country, if only it were cleared a bit."

On the 12th July, as the expedition was approaching Cataragui¹ in excellent military order, they were met by the Indians, who evinced much pleasure at seeing the count and his followers, and conducted them to 30 a spot suitable for encampment. Some preliminary

¹ *Cataragui*. Later Fort Frontenac, and now the city of Kingston.

civilities were exchanged, but it was not till the 17th that serious negotiations were begun. The count, meanwhile, having found close by what he considered an advantageous location for his proposed fort, set his
5 men to work to clear the ground, fell and square timber, dig trenches, etc., in a manner which fairly surprised the Indians, who were not accustomed to seeing building operations carried on so systematically and speedily. But if they were impressed by the working capacity
10 of the expeditionary force, they were still more deeply influenced by the discourse of the governor and the presents which accompanied it. Had the count been a "black robe"¹ himself, he could not have spoken with more unction or more unimpeachable orthodoxy
15 in urging his savage hearers to embrace Christianity. He condensed, for the occasion, the whole of Christian teaching into the two great commandments of love to God and love to man, and appealed to the consciences of his hearers as to whether both were not entirely
20 reasonable. This portion of his speech, in which he also declared that he desired peace both between the French and the Iroquois, and between the latter and all Indian tribes under French protection, was recommended by a present of fifteen guns and a quantity of
25 powder, lead, and gunflints. Next he informed them of his intention to form a trading-post at Cataragui. "Here," he said, "you will find all sorts of refreshments and commodities, which I shall cause to be furnished to you at the cheapest rate possible." He
30 added, however, that it would be very expensive to bring goods so far, and that they must take that into

¹ *Black robe.* The Indians applied this name to the priests.

consideration in criticising prices. Twenty-five large overcoats were distributed at this point. In the third place he reproached them with their cruel treatment of the Hurons, and said that he meant to treat all the Indian nations alike, and wished all to enjoy equal security and equal advantages in every way. "See," he said, "that no complaints are made to me henceforward on this subject, for I shall become angry; as I insist that you Iroquois, Algonquins, and other nations that have me for a father, shall live henceforth as brothers." He asked also that they would let him have a few of their children that they might learn the French language and be instructed by the priests. Twenty-five shirts, an equal number of pairs of stockings, five packages of glass beads, and five coats were given to round off this appeal.

The reply of the delegates of the five Iroquois nations was in tone and temper all that could be wished. They thanked Onontio¹ that he had addressed them as children, and were glad that he was going to assume towards them the relation of father. They readily consented to live at peace² with the Hurons and Algonquins, and would, when they returned to their cantons, carefully consider the question of letting him have a certain number of their children. One delegate showed his financial acumen by observing that, while Onontio had promised to let them have goods as cheap as possible at the fort, he had not said what the tariff would be. To this the count replied that he could not

¹ *Onontio*. The Indian name for the governor of Canada.

² *At peace*. The deadly feud between the Iroquois on the one hand and the Hurons and Algonquins on the other, disturbed the peace of Canada for many years.

- say what the freight would amount to, but that considering them as his children, he would see that they were fairly treated. Another, a Cayugan, evinced his knowledge of current history by lamenting the calamities which the Dutch¹ were suffering in their war with the French, trade relations between the Dutch and the Iroquois having always been very satisfactory. He consoled himself, however, with the thought that his nation would now find a father in Onontio.
- While the negotiations were in progress, work on the fort was proceeding rapidly, and by the 20th of the month it was finished. The count then dismissed the body of his force, the men being anxious to return to their homes. He himself remained behind to meet some belated delegates from points on the north shore of Lake Ontario, whom he did not fail to reprove for their want of punctuality, after which, with rare liberality of speech, he repeated to them all he had said to the others. A few days' delay was also caused by the necessity of awaiting a convoy from Montreal with a year's provisions for the fort. Finally, on the 28th July, the governor and his party started on their homeward journey and arrived safely at Montreal on the 1st of August. During the whole expedition not one man or one canoe was lost.

¹ *The Dutch.* At this time, 1673, the Dutch, under William of Orange, were fighting for their very existence against the armies of Louis XIV of France.

GENERAL WOLFE

FROM "WOLFE AND MONTCALM," BY THE ABBÉ H.
R. CASGRAIN

JAMES WOLFE was born on January 2nd, 1727, at Westerham, Kent, of a family which originally came from Limerick. From infancy he manifested so decided a taste for military life that when thirteen years of age he embarked with his father, Lieutenant-Colonel Wolfe, on the expedition which was decimated before Carthagera.¹ However, before the fleet sailed, an illness, due to his delicate constitution, obliged him to return to his mother. Such a feeble state of health one might have expected would give him a tendency 10 towards a life of peace, but his young ambition had been fired by the tales of his father, who had gained his rank in the armies of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, and his dreams were merely those of military glory. At sixteen years of age he took part in his first campaign 15 in Flanders. He was then a tall but thin young man, apparently weak for the trials of war. Moreover, he was decidedly ugly, with red hair and a receding forehead and chin, which made his profile seem to be an

¹ *Carthagera*. During the war with Spain, which began in 1739, usually known as the "War of Jenkins's Ear," Carthagera, on the Isthmus of Panama, was attacked by a British fleet under Admiral Vernon. The attack proved a disastrous failure.

obtuse angle, with the point at the end of his nose. His pale, transparent skin was easily flushed, and became fiery red when engaged in conversation or in action. Nothing about him bespoke the soldier save
5 a firm-set mouth and eyes of azure blue, which flashed and gleamed. With it all, though, he had about his person and his manner a sympathetic quality which attracted people to him.

In his last portraits he is represented as wearing a
10 square-cut, scarlet coat, after the English style, while the rolled-back collar shows the lacework of his shirt. His knotted hair falls down between his shoulders, and he wears a three-cornered, gold-laced hat. On his feet are gaiters, and a sword is in his belt, while on
15 his arm he bears a band of crêpe, for at the time he was in mourning for his father. He is also similarly represented in the wooden statue, made shortly after his death, which stood for many years at the corner of Palace Hill and John Street, in Quebec, but which has
20 now found a resting-place in the rooms of the Literary and Historical Society of that city.

With his talents, and his devotion to his chosen career Wolfe's promotion could not be other than rapid. He took part in the victory of Dettingen,¹ where he distinguished himself by his bravery and coolness, and
25 was next day made adjutant and then lieutenant, being raised to the rank of captain in the ensuing campaign. From the continent he crossed to Scotland,

¹ *Dettingen.* In 1743 a battle was fought at Dettingen in Germany between the British and Hanoverians on the one hand and the French on the other. George II commanded the allies, and although the French had a superior force, he succeeded in winning the battle. Before and during the battle Wolfe acted as adjutant to his regiment.

and was present at the battle of Culloden.¹ Some historians represent him as there appearing in a most magnanimous rôle to the disparagement of his general. The Duke of Cumberland,² they relate, while crossing the field of battle with him noticed a Highlander who, notwithstanding the severe nature of his wounds, raised himself upon his elbow and met the duke's gaze with a smile of defiance. "Kill that insolent good-for-nothing who dares to look at us with scorn," the latter is reported to have said to Wolfe, who answered: "Your Highness has my commission; it is in your hands, but I can never consent to become an executioner."

At twenty-three years of age he was a lieutenant-colonel, and the study of Latin, French, and mathematics occupied all his leisure. About this time, too, he had a love trouble which he tried to drown in a round of dissipation, but this was foreign to his nature, and he soon forswore it. Stationed at Inverness, then a centre of disaffection, amidst a recently conquered population which was still restless beneath the yoke, and struggling against the most wretched ill-health, he succeeded in forgetting his discouragement and winning the good-will of every one, even of the Highlanders. He had an inexhaustible supply of humour and good spirits, and with them he was accustomed to say a man

¹ *Culloden*. At Culloden Moor, near Inverness, in 1746, the English army, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, met the Highland army under Charles Edward and won a signal victory. Wolfe was a brigade-major during this campaign.

² *Duke of Cumberland*. The Duke was a son of George II, and had had considerable military experience. He was probably the best of the British generals at this time.

can overcome all obstacles. However, he found the five years spent amongst the Scottish mountains long, for he feared that he would grow rusty in the intellectual void surrounding him.

5 The winter of 1753 found him in Paris in the midst of a world the refinement of which could not but attract him. He fairly revelled in it, frequented the court, and was presented to the king, paying homage to the Crown whose choicest jewel was so soon to fall
10 by his sword. Madame de Pompadour¹ deigned to smile upon him. "I was fortunate enough," he writes, "to be placed near her for some time. She is extremely pretty, and I should judge from her conversation that she possesses much wit and intelligence."

15 Wolfe, for the moment, became a courtier. Between his courses in equitation and French he took dancing lessons, and was just flattering himself that he had fairly well mastered the intricacies of the minuet, according to his professor, when a peremptory
20 order, which he had barely time to curse, called him back to England. He thus lost the opportunity of seeing the various armies of Europe, as he had intended, before his return, but he made up for the loss by study.

At the beginning of the Seven Years' War his lucky
25 star led him before Rochefort,² where his brilliancy

¹ *Madame de Pompadour*. A court favourite of Louis XV, over whom she had great influence.

² *Rochefort*. In 1757, Pitt resolved to send an expedition to the coast of France for the purpose of destroying Rochefort, about fifteen miles from Rochelle. The expedition, however, proved a total failure, and returned ingloriously without striking a blow. Wolfe, who served as quartermaster-general, was the only officer who distinguished himself. Indeed, it is said that it was the judgment and energy here displayed by

dazzled the chiefs of the expedition, and thus his military fortunes began.

The command¹ which the prime minister, Pitt, confided to him, in connection with the Louisbourg expedition, was little to his taste. He even dreaded the task, anticipating from it more difficulty than glory, as well as an outcome fatal to himself. Moreover, being a wretched sailor, his always uncertain health almost completely collapsed at sea. Premature infirmities bade fair to cut short his earthly existence, and he would have liked to enjoy for at least a few years the joys of home, which he had never known, and of family life, towards which he had strong inclinations. He was fond of children, and had fallen in love with Miss Lowther, daughter of an ex-governor of the Barbadoes. The height of his ambition was to live by her and watch their children grow up in a snug little cottage in some such retired and peaceful country seat as his native Westerham, but when he abandoned the soil of Europe he felt that he had bidden farewell to all these cherished dreams.

"Being of the profession of arms," he wrote from Blackheath while preparing to sail, "I would ask all occasions to serve, and therefore have thrown myself in the way of the American war; though I know that the very passage threatens my life, and that my constitution must be utterly ruined and undone, and this from no motive either of avarice or ambition." Writing

him that first attracted the attention of Pitt and caused him to mark the young officer for immediate promotion.

¹ *The command.* Amherst was in command of the expedition against Louisbourg, and Wolfe accompanied him as one of his brigadiers. See Bradley's *Wolfe*, Chapter VII, in the *English Men of Action* series.

to his mother he says: "All I hope is that I may be ready at all times to meet that fate which no one can avoid, and to die with grace and honour when my hour has come, whether it be soon or late."

- 5 Captain Knox,¹ who saw Wolfe for the first time at Halifax, detected in the youthful brigadier an Achilles.² Impetuous and irascible, his weak constitution often allowed him to be carried away by outbursts of passion. His temperament was Celtic rather than Saxon. He
10 was liberal in his ideas, more devoted to his country than to his ambition, and a model of filial piety. Friendships, which he readily formed, he well knew how to retain. He was ever a slave to duty, a stern disciplinarian, and a soldier before all else, and con-
15 sequently beloved both by officers and by rank and file. Such, in outline, was Wolfe's character.

Not long after the capture of Louisbourg in 1758, at which he distinguished himself, Wolfe went to Bath,³ there to restore his very uncertain health. "I
20 have got in the square," he wrote to his father, "to be more at leisure, more in the air, and nearer the country. The women are not remarkable, nor the men neither; however, a man must be very hard to please if he does not find some that will suit him."

¹ *Captain Knox.* Captain John Knox, an officer of the 43rd or Kennedy's Regiment, took part in the various American campaigns, and later published an account of his experiences under the title of *An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America, 1757-60.*

² *Achilles.* The hero of the Trojan War. He was brave, but passionate and resentful. The *Iliad* of Homer opens with the lines:

Achilles' wrath, to Greece the direful spring
Of woes unnumber'd, heavenly goddess, sing!

³ *Bath.* At this time Bath was a fashionable watering place.

He, however, speedily acquired a liking for his residence at Bath, and there seems to have renewed his intimacy with Miss Katherine Lowther,¹ to whom he offered his hand, and was accepted. She gave him her portrait, which he took with him to America, carrying it on his 5 person until the eve of his death.

But the hours which he devoted to sentiment did not in any way interfere with the young officer's attention to military matters. Soon afterwards, Pitt confided to him the expedition which he was preparing against 10 Quebec, and raised him to the rank of major-general.²

Wolfe's last few days in England were passed in preparations for his departure and in filial duties. His father, a war-worn septuagenarian, and his mother, whose health had always been uncertain, caused him 15 much anxiety, and he, in turn, caused them equal uneasiness. Each felt how small were the chances of their being reunited, and this feeling gave to their adieux the sadness almost of a death-bed farewell. "All that I ask," he said, "is that I may be ready at all 20 times to meet with a steady eye the fate which no man can avoid, and to die with good grace and honour when my hour has come." His prayer was answered beyond his wildest expectations.

¹ *Miss Katherine Lowther.* Major Wood says: "Wolfe's engagement to Miss Katherine Lowther seems to have been an affair of the heart on both sides. Just before the Battle of the Plains he entrusted her miniature to Jervis, the future Earl of St. Vincent, who was to return it to her, set in jewels, in case he fell in action; and this wish was duly complied with. Miss Lowther, who was sister to the first Earl of Lonsdale, married the Duke of Bolton six years after, and the miniature is now to be seen at Raby Castle."

² *Major-general.* Wolfe was a major-general only in America. In England his rank was that of colonel.

THE LAST SIEGE OF QUEBEC

FROM "LORD DORCHESTER," BY A. G. BRADLEY

QUEBEC under the stimulating influence of Carleton¹ was now prepared to face the fourth and last siege in her history. The militia before this ordinance had included, we are assured by one defender, numbers of
5 "rank rebels," while Cramahé² himself wrote Dartmouth³ that he feared these traitors within more than the enemy without. The British muster roll had shown about five hundred men, and was reduced by Carleton's edict⁴ to about three hundred and thirty. The

¹ *Carleton.* Sir Guy Carleton had been for some time at Montreal in charge of the defensive operations against the invasion by the Americans under Montgomery. After the surrender of Chambly and St. Johns, he despaired of being able to defend Montreal, and hurriedly returned to Quebec. This journey was accomplished with many hardships, and a constant danger of capture by the enemy, who occupied the route through which he must travel.

² *Cramahé.* A Swiss by birth, but an officer in the British army. He had been a member of the executive council under General Murray, deputy-governor during the absence of Sir Guy Carleton, and was in command at Quebec until the return of Carleton from Montreal.

³ *Dartmouth.* Lord Dartmouth was at this time Colonial Secretary.

⁴ *Carleton's edict.* As soon as Carleton reached Quebec he issued "orders that every man who was not prepared to take his part in the defence of the city must leave it within four days, a measure which caused a wholesale exodus of the timorous, the lukewarm, and the disloyal, and went far in depriving the enemy of their channels of information."

French on the other hand were increased by it from four hundred and eighty to five hundred and thirty-three. Besides the *Lizard* and *Hunter*¹ a dozen or more merchant ships had been detained, and their seamen and officers, together with the blue jackets and a few mariners, introduced a further force of four hundred men into the garrison. The number of souls within the town during the siege is estimated at five thousand. Colonel Caldwell, a retired officer of the army resident in Quebec, commanded the British militia, while Colonel Voyer led the French. The latter may be further credited with a company of students and other less active volunteers, who guarded prisoners and performed similar useful duties. The complete roster of French combatants during the siege shows seven hundred and ten names, that of the British unfortunately is not extant.

There were provisions in the town for eight months, but firewood, a vital need, was scarce, and the country was already covered with a foot of snow. There was nothing to fear as yet, however, from the water-front, as it was now full of floating ice. Carleton well knew that so long as he held Quebec Canada was not lost; so also did Montgomery.² "I need not tell you," he wrote to

¹ *Lizard* and *Hunter*. The frigate *Lizard* and the war-sloop *Hunter* were in the harbour when the siege began and remained throughout.

² *Montgomery*. Richard Montgomery was the son of an Irish country gentleman, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He entered the army at the age of eighteen, fought at Louisbourg under Amherst, and afterwards served in the West Indies. At the conclusion of the war in 1763, he retired from the army and settled in New York State, where he married a daughter of Judge Robert Livingstone. Subsequently he was

Robert Livingstone, his father-in-law, then attending congress, "that till Quebec is taken Canada is unconquered. There are three alternatives, siege, investment or storm. The first is impossible from the difficulty
5 of making trenches in a Canadian winter and the impossibility of living in them if we could." As to mining he was informed that the soil did not admit of it, and lastly his artillery would be useless for breaking such walls. As for investment he had not enough men to
10 prevent a garrison in a familiar country from getting food and firewood; and he complains that a lack of specie sadly limits the number of Canadians willing to enlist, for congress paper had already begun to stink in their nostrils. There were, however, fewer objections
15 to storming. If his force was small Carleton's was not great; the length of his enemy's works, which in other respects favoured him, would prove to his disadvantage and assist Montgomery, who could select his point in secret, while the constant strain of expectation on so
20 mixed a garrison would breed weakness and discontent among them.

Thus Montgomery, summed up his chances in a frame of mind already much less sanguine than that in which he left Montreal. From the first, therefore,
25 he practically decided on the bold venture leading which in person he so bravely fell. Openly at least Montgomery was sanguine enough, and his boast that he would eat his Christmas dinner in Quebec or hell is a familiar tradition, if not scientific history. One may
30 suspect that the alternative was supplied by his enemies.

a delegate to the Provincial Congress, and having been promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, was placed in charge of the force of fifteen hundred men assembled on Lake Champlain for the conquest of Canada.

We are not concerned here with Montgomery's brief occupation of Montreal, nor yet with his journey down the St. Lawrence, both of which were uneventful. The greater part of his army had been left under Wooster¹ at Montreal and in various posts to the south of the river, and it does not seem that when he joined Arnold² at Pointe-aux-Trembles their united forces amounted to much more than a thousand men, exclusive of some Canadian militia, though British accounts both modern and contemporary have always rated it as larger. His own troops were nothing like so good as Arnold's men, whose physique and discipline he regarded with admiration and surprise. Nor were the defences of the city "ruinous" as Arnold had somewhat prematurely described them, but were in a good state, thanks to Cramahé's forethought and to an efficient engineer, namely James Thompson, who was alive half a century later to tell stories of that famous winter, and has moreover left a journal of it

¹ *Wooster*. David Wooster had seen considerable service both by land and sea, and had been a brigadier-general of colonial forces during the French War, 1756-1763. About a year after the failure of the expeditions against Quebec, he was killed in action against the British.

² *Arnold*. Benedict Arnold was a native of Connecticut, where he was engaged in the West India business, and early distinguished himself during the Revolutionary War. He was given a commission as colonel in the colonial forces, and took part with Ethan Allen in the capture of Ticonderoga. When the invasion of Canada was resolved on, Arnold was placed by Washington in charge of a force of eleven hundred men, with instructions to lead them through Maine, and thence down the Chaudière River to Quebec, there to coöperate with Montgomery. Arnold behaved with great determination and daring, and finally reached Quebec with seven hundred of his men, after a terrible march of two months' duration.

- which will shortly be published. The stone walls and bastions and deep trenches which formed the normal defences of the city on the landward side were now well furnished with guns. The interval between the
5 rocky breast of Cape Diamond and the St. Lawrence was heavily stockaded to protect the passage into the Lower Town at this narrow gap, while similar barricades were erected at the further opening on the banks of the St. Charles.
- 10 With regard to the Lower Town it should be generally noted that in those days the tide rose and fell over a considerable area where are now wharves and streets. The familiar spot at the south-west, however, where Montgomery fell has not materially altered, but
15 the point of the other and most formidable attack by Arnold's division, the Sault-au-Matelot, has been greatly changed by artificial reclamation from the waters of the river. In those days the narrow artery from St. Roch to the Lower Town by the waterside was
20 only a footway, and had even to cross the projecting spur of rock which gives its name to the spot. Here the narrow neck was guarded by a strong barrier defended by cannon, and at the further end of the street which began here and led to Mountain Street, the only
25 approach to the Upper Town, was a second barrier similarly defended. This stood at the present junction of St. James and Sous-le-Cap Streets, where, as at *Près de Ville*, a tablet has recently been erected in commemoration of the defenders. This barrier and
30 Montgomery's point of attack at the extreme western end of Champlain Street were the only spots where the assailants could enter the city save by scaling the walls. How the desperate attempt was made and frustrated will be related presently.

Montgomery who had taken up his quarters at Holland House, some two miles from the city, prefaced more active measures by two characteristic missives, one to Carleton and another to the inhabitants. In the first he accused his opponent of ill-treating himself and of cruelty to his prisoners, but his own humanity, he said, moved him to give Carleton the opportunity of saving himself and others from the destruction which hung over them. He informed him that he was well acquainted with his situation, "a great extent of works in their nature incapable of defence manned by a motley crew of sailors, the greatest part our friends, or of citizens who wish to see us within their walls, and a few of the worst troops who ever styled themselves soldiers," and descanted further on the impossibility of relief, the want of necessities in the event of a simple blockade, and the absurdity of resistance. He was himself, he declared, at the head of troops accustomed to success, confident in the righteousness of their cause and so incensed at Carleton's inhumanity¹ that he could with difficulty restrain them. More follows in a style which suggests the Buffalo militia² of thirty years later, and when read

¹ *Carleton's inhumanity.* Carleton had some time before this captured Ethan Allen, the famous Vermonter, with some thirty-five of his men. The prisoners were placed in irons and sent to England. Montgomery accused Carleton of needless cruelty, but the Governor, who disdained even to answer one whom he regarded as a rebel, wrote to the Colonial Secretary: "We have neither prisons to hold nor troops to guard them, so that they have been treated with as much humanity as our own safety would permit."

² *Buffalo militia.* The New York state militia, who had not hesitated to boast of their prowess and the ease with which they would conquer Canada, when actually confronted with

by the side of Montgomery's letter to his father-in-law presents a quite remarkable specimen not only of unadulterated bluff, but of futile bad taste as addressed to a distinguished and able servant of the
5 Crown. He winds up by warning Carleton against destroying stores, public or private: "If you do," concludes this inflated document, "there will be no mercy shown."

Montgomery, rightly assuming from former ex-
10 periences that no letter from him would be received in the ordinary way, sent this one by an old woman, and Carleton appears to have seen it, doubtless to his great entertainment. Several copies of a further address to the inhabitants were shot over the walls
15 by arrows, and their contents were not calculated to conciliate the eight hundred volunteers in arms representing the male portion of the civil inhabitants, whom he styles "a wretched garrison defending wretched works." He draws a lurid picture of "a
20 city in flames, carnage, confusion, plunder, all caused by a general courting ruin to avoid his shame." This one-sided correspondence took place on December 6th and 7th, the days following his arrival. The city was now cut off from the outer world. Many of Carle-
25 ton's Canadian militia had been caught outside the walls at St. Roch, and had been, willingly or unwillingly, disarmed by Jeremiah Duggan, a hairdresser from Quebec, who with a following of French-Canadians was

the order to cross the Niagara and take part in the battle of Queenston Heights, positively refused to leave the state, on the grounds that being state militia, they could not be compelled to serve outside their own borders. "They had seen the wounded come over from Queenston and it was not a pleasant sight."

an active and useful partisan of Montgomery's. The latter's artillery in the meantime had been hauled up from the river to the Plains of Abraham, and a battery of five twelve-pounders was opened half a mile from the St. John's Gate, to be quickly demolished, how- 5 ever, by the superior guns of the city. Another battery of mortars, more securely placed in St. Roch, behind protecting buildings, though only two hundred yards from the walls, threw shells into the city; but they were small and did little damage. "Even the 10 women," says a diarist, "came to laugh at them."

The situation of the besiegers was not an enviable one, for winter had now set in with rigour. Though the provincials were largely clad in British uniforms captured at St. Johns and Chambly¹ they had no 15 winter clothing, and what was still more serious small-pox had broken out among the *habitants* and soon began to exact its toll of victims in the American camp. The garrison from the very first behaved admirably and under the cheery firmness and the 20 confidence of Carleton kept their ordinary watches, and responded to the not infrequent summons of night alarms with spirit and alacrity. In these three

¹ *St. Johns and Chambly.* The fort at St. Johns, about twenty miles from the foot of Lake Champlain, was considered the key to Canada, and Chambly on the Richelieu some fourteen miles below, was certainly the key to St. Johns. Chambly was strongly fortified and was held by eighty men under Major Stopford, who, in the most cowardly manner, surrendered it to Montgomery after a siege of only thirty-six hours. After this disgraceful act it was impossible for St. Johns to hold out, so that Preston, who held it with nearly seven hundred men, was compelled to capitulate. At both these places Montgomery obtained large stores of guns, ammunition, uniforms, and provisions.

weeks of interval pending Montgomery's attack there was little actual conflict. Carleton's gunners made effective practice on all attempts of the besiegers to get their light guns into advantageous position, though
5 the St. Roch mortars continued, it is true, to throw showers of almost harmless shells into the city. Arnold was driven from his headquarters in St. Roch, which were riddled with shot, and Montgomery's horse was killed by a cannon ball while the owner was seated in
10 his cariole. The Alleghany riflemen,¹ however, from various shelters outside the walls and from the cupola above the intendant's palace carried on a deadly fire, picking off almost every man who showed his head above the ramparts.

15 On December 22nd, Colonel Caldwell's servant, bearing the significant name of Wolf, arrived in the city. He had been taken prisoner in trying to save something from the wreck of his master's country house which Arnold had burnt, and in company with
20 a deserter had succeeded in making his escape. They reported that Montgomery intended to attempt the city on the next night, and a thousand men were kept under arms in consequence. They were right, for another deserter was hauled over the walls the
25 next day who confirmed the report, but gave Wolf's escape as the reason for postponement, and declared that it had been arranged for that very night unless his own flight to the enemy should again alter Montgomery's plans. As a matter of fact the latter had
30 called a council of war, of which the majority were

¹ *Alleghany riflemen.* These were principally Scotch-Irish riflemen and Indian fighters from the mountain frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

for storming the town as soon as a daily expected supply of bayonets, axes and hand grenades had arrived. The general himself was for delay till a further attempt to open a breach in the walls with artillery had been made; but the others were so eager for im- 5 mediate action that he finally gave way. The first design was to assault the walls at four different points between Cape Diamond and Palace Gate, three of these movements, however, to be feints, the one at Cape Diamond alone to be pressed home. Aaron 10 Burr,¹ Montgomery's aide, was very forward in the affair and was actually assigned fifty picked men to be drilled in the practice of scaling ladders.

At this moment, however, Antell and Price, disaffected Montrealers, and the former Montgomery's 15 engineer, arrived and insisted that the Lower Town was the right point for attack and would be less dangerous. As a military move it was the most rash, for even the capture of the Lower would leave the assailants at the mercy of the Upper Town. But the Mon- 20 trealers' minds ran strongly on politics; and they had persuaded themselves that the inhabitants would then compel Carleton to surrender, in order to avoid the destruction of their property and warehouses. But the stormy weather acted as a deterrent from 25 day to day, while Montgomery's confidence, though not his courage, was oozing away. Arnold had so alienated some of his officers that they refused to serve under him till urgently appealed to by their general. Smallpox too was increasing, and some of 30

¹ *Aaron Burr*. Afterwards vice-president of the United States; now remembered principally as the slayer of Alexander Hamilton, the first treasurer of the Republic.

the New England troops whose period of service terminated on December 31st, vowed they would not stay a day beyond that date. The intense cold and frequent frostbites cooled the ardour of the majority, only warmed from time to time by occasional sallies from the city for wood, and in the case of the riflemen by their congenial occupation of "sniping."

The twenty-third passed uneventfully, for the reasons already given, and so did Christmas Day, Montgomery eating his substitute for turkey neither in Quebec nor in the other place, but in Holland House and in desponding mood. He writes from there of the factions against Arnold, blaming the latter not at all, but complaining that he himself has no money, paper being valueless, and Price, who had been an invaluable friend to the cause, having exhausted his own means of supply. He would resign if it came to a mere blockade, but would make a desperate effort first. The spirit of the potential slaves in Quebec and the agility of the contemptuous Carleton in escaping his clutches, galled him sorely. The promise of becoming a successful and living hero had lately seemed so fair, and now the presentiment was dark upon him that he could only be one, unsuccessful and possibly dead. Carleton, during these anxious days, each one of which was expected to end in a night assault, remained cool, vigilant and wary. His bearing, says an eye-witness, carried no trace of anxiety though he slept in his clothes at the Récollets'. Every man of the garrison had his post and when off duty lay by his arms. The once apathetic French and the erst grumbling British militia now vied with each other in alertness and eagerly waited for the attack.

A change of weather, which deserters had spoken of as the signal for action, came on the twenty-eighth. But that night passed quietly, as did the next after a day of "serene sunshine," and again to the vigilant and shivering sentries on the walls there came no sign 5 out of the darkness below. On the thirty-first the thermometer fell again, but the feeling in the city was strong that the moment was come. The intuition was correct, for about four o'clock on the last morning of the year, Captain Malcolm Fraser of the Royal Emi- 10 grants,¹ who was in command of the main guard, and indeed of all the sentries on the walls, saw strange signal fires and the flash as of lanterns or torches at various points from the St. Charles to the St. Lawrence, while almost immediately two rockets shot up into 15 the sky from beyond Cape Diamond. The alarm was now raised, and in a brief time all doubt was ended by the opening of a sharp fire against the walls to the south of the St. Louis Gate and towards Cape Diamond. Drums beat and bells rang wildly out into 20 the now stormy night, and in less than three minutes, says one account, every man in the garrison was under arms at his post, even old men of seventy going forward to oppose the rebels.

The plan of attack had in the meantime been altered. 25 Montgomery was moving quietly along the narrow strand of the St. Lawrence from Wolfe's Cove, heading

¹ *Royal Emigrants.* The Royal Emigrants were "largely recruited from the Highland soldiers who had settled after the peace on the northern frontier of New York and at Murray Bay on the lower St. Lawrence, and became afterwards the 84th Regiment. They were raised and commanded by McLean, an able and zealous officer who did yeoman's service throughout the whole campaign."

for the barrier which defended the western end of the Lower Town beneath Cape Diamond. Arnold with a larger body was to pass from St. Roch beneath the Palace Gate, and attack the similarly defended barrier
5 already spoken of at Sault-au-Matelot. The rockets were a signal to Arnold that Montgomery was on the march. In the event of success, which achieved in one quarter would have materially favoured it in the other, the two forces were to combine in an assault, if
10 such seemed feasible, on the Upper Town. The firing heard at the walls in front had been that of Montgomery's Canadians¹ led by Livingstone and some provincials under Brown, and was intended as a diversion to distract the garrison. It was pitch dark,
15 and a biting wind laden with fine snow blew from the north-east directly in the face of Montgomery's long extended column, and indeed it considerably deadened both sounds and signals during that first period of excitement.

20 In almost the last letter of his life Montgomery had alluded to Wolfe's achievement as a series of lucky hits. He himself may well have seemed to be asking a good deal of the fickle goddess on this somewhat desperate venture as he led his men along the
25 narrow strand between the gloomy cliffs and the frozen river. Deep drifts of snow and slabs of ice forced up by the tide on to the narrow way seemed to have further impeded the toilsome progress of the column from Wolfe's Cove, where it had descended to the shore.

¹ *Canadians.* These were disaffected Canadians, who sympathized with the colonists and were commanded by Livingstone, a relative of Judge Livingstone, Montgomery's father-in-law.

As Montgomery and his leading file arrived within fifty yards of the barrier the men who were standing behind it with lighted fuses say that they could just perceive them pausing for a moment as if in uncertainty. Then one of their number sprang forward, — Mont- 5 gomery, no doubt, who according to an American diarist cried out, "Come on, brave boys, Quebec is ours!" A small group followed him. At this moment the battery was fired, and a hail of grapeshot swept every one of these dimly visible assailants off their 10 feet. Further discharges with a sharp musket fire sent the main and invisible part of the columns flying back into the darkness and out of action, so far as that memorable night and day were concerned. "The rest is 15 silence," save that the groans of dying men were heard by those within the barrier. All that was to be seen outside it on the following day by Carleton's search party was one stark hand above the snow, which falling steadily for many hours had covered a dozen frozen 20 corpses. The hand was Montgomery's.

The little battery of four guns at *Près de Ville* had been thus admirably and effectively handled by Captain Barnsfare with an artillery sergeant and fifteen sailors. In the blockhouse above were thirty-five French-Canadians, whose bullets followed the flying 25 enemy into the darkness. Strange to say, however, an extraordinary panic succeeded this doughty deed, apparently caused by an old woman, who cried out that the rebels had forced the *Sault-au-Matelot*, and were upon them in the rear. One might be permitted to 30 wonder if this was the same old woman who had taken Montgomery's insulting missive to Carleton, and had been drummed out of the town for her pains, and thus sought revenge. If so she had it, for according to one

account, men actually tumbled over each other in their superfluous terror. 

Arnold's column, too, though in far different fashion, had by this time already failed in its attempt. How
5 this came about must now be told. Whether Arnold saw the warning rockets seems uncertain, but at any rate he started about four o'clock on the morning of December 31st to pick his way through St. Roch in the direction of the barricade of the Sault-au-Matelot,
10 which was his goal. He was followed by six hundred men, headed by the redoubtable Morgan¹ and his Virginia mountaineers. Small hope of surprise could have lingered among his calculations by the time he was under the Palace Gate, for the bells of the city were
15 by then clanging wildly, and the sound of heavy firing from the feigned attack upon the western walls beat up, though in muffled fashion, against the storm. As he reached the narrow strip between the tide of the St. Charles, then nearly at flood, and the steeps above,
20 his column was fired upon by pickets above the Palace Gate and the Hôtel Dieu. His men, encumbered with scaling ladders, were exposed to view by fire balls thrown from the buildings above, while he himself was soon afterwards hit in the leg and put hopelessly
25 out of action. Morgan now took the command, though not strictly entitled to it, and attacking the first barrier with some of his mountaineers and other ardent spirits, eventually carried it, though the time and energy expended in the proceeding is a matter of much disagreement among even contemporary chroniclers.
30

¹ *Morgan.* Daniel Morgan afterwards became one of the most celebrated generals of the Revolutionary War. He took a leading part in almost all the important actions, including the surrenders of Burgoyne and Cornwallis.

However that may be, the Americans poured over the first barrier in spite of the gun and the guard, and found themselves in a street some two hundred yards long lined by houses, at the further end of which was a second barrier protected by cannon. There 5 would seem to have been some pause here, and anxious thoughts were cast in the direction of Montgomery, who in the event of success should then have been within the city. But of him nothing had yet been heard. Carleton had now learnt that the first barricade had 10 been fired, (Americans say by a surprise of the guard, who were drinking and in ignorance of the situation,) and he despatched Captain Laws with seventy men by Palace Gate to take Arnold in the rear. In the meantime Caldwell, who seems to have moved rapidly 15 from point to point and grasped the situation, leaving his own militia to their obviously easy task on the western walls, led a mixed party that he had collected down to the Lower Town and to the back of the second barrier, where he joined Nairne and Dambourges, who 20 with Voyer and his French-Canadians were there holding the enemy in check.

Around this inner barrier, which overlooked the Americans now swarming in Sault-au-Matelot Street and protected the approach to the Upper Town, a 25 great deal of confused and severe fighting took place before the besiegers were finally overcome. The latter were inevitably crowded in the narrow street, and suffered much from the raking of the battery at the end and the fire from some houses which had been 30 occupied by the defenders. The barrier itself seems never to have been in danger. One ladder was placed against it, but was dragged over the walls by a French-Canadian militiaman amid a hail of American bullets.

Some of the houses, however, were forced by the Americans, only to be recaptured at the point of the bayonet by the British. The various accounts of this hour or two of not continuous but often fierce fighting give 5 what each man heard and saw in the blinding snow and darkness, illuminated only by the flashing of guns and hand grenades. The confusion was added to by the British uniforms worn by most of the Americans, for a paper inscribed "Liberty or death" pinned in 10 their hats was a futile distinction in such a mêlée. But the Americans, being mostly in the open street, suffered out of all proportion to their opponents. Morgan and many others behaved with infinite gallantry, the former killing Captain Anderson, the only 15 officer who fell on his side. The hopelessness of the effort, however, at length became evident, and a retreat was attempted.

In the meantime Laws, who had been sent out with two guns by Carleton to take Arnold's men in 20 the rear, accompanied by McDougall and Fraser with some of the Royal Emigrants, and by Captain Hamilton, of the *Lizard*, with blue jackets, became engaged in St. Roch with a belated company of Arnold's under Dearborn, which had just crossed from their 25 quarters beyond the St. Charles. After some desultory fighting among the houses, the provincials were captured or routed, and, furthermore, the rebel battery in St. Roch was taken and its guns carried off. Laws and his friends, now heading for the Sault-au-Matelot, 30 took Morgan's already shattered force in the rear, and completed their discomfiture. Many of the Americans escaped over the ice of the St. Charles, a perilous venture for strangers in the dark. The greater part, however, laid down their arms. The number of un-

wounded prisoners was about three hundred and ninety, of wounded forty-four. The killed were returned at thirty-two, but from the number of bodies found afterwards in the snow and recovered in the spring when it melted, and from the estimates of Americans present, the number must have been much greater. McLean,¹ who as second in command should be something of an authority, states, in a private letter, that they buried in all two hundred and twenty. The British loss was given as one officer and five 10 privates killed, and a few wounded. Possibly it was about double that, but in any case quite trifling. Carleton, in a letter to Howe,² says that between six and seven hundred were killed, wounded or captured. The prisoners were paraded before Carleton in the 15 Upper Town, and after a good breakfast the officers were quartered in the Seminary, and the men in the Récollets'.

Carleton was now urged by some of his officers to order a sortie on the presumably demoralized, 20 and certainly diminished, besiegers. But he was too old and cool a soldier to take any risks with his heterogeneous and small force, and with but little chance of any solid advantage. His business was to hold the city till the spring, not to indulge in futile, 25 even if victorious, skirmishes on the Plains of Abraham or in the suburbs. He might yet want every man he had, for there was nothing but the winter to prevent reinforcements of the enemy from entering Canada. It was not known yet that Montgomery 30

¹ *McLean*. See note 1, page 43.

² *Howe*. General Howe was at this time the commander-in-chief of the British forces operating against the Americans.

was dead. But on a scouting party's being sent through the barrier at the *Près de Ville* they collected after a considerable search thirteen bodies, all buried, as has been stated, in the newly fallen snow, Montgomery's hand and forearm alone protruding from it. One man only, a sergeant, still breathed and uttered a few words, but quickly died. There was no certainty about Montgomery's corpse till it was brought into the town and identified by some of the prisoners. Carleton, with the humanity that never forsook him, sent out search parties to the scene of Arnold's march and attack at the *Sault-au-Matelot*, who brought in many wounded, including some officers. He caused Montgomery to be quietly buried in a hollow under the *St. Louis* bastion, attending the funeral himself with some half dozen others.

Wooster, hitherto in command at Montreal, now came up to replace Montgomery, for Arnold's wound kept him out of the field till April, when in a pet at some fancied slight from his commander he got himself transferred to Montreal. But their two enterprising commanders removed and their numbers reduced to about eight hundred men including Livingstone's rebel Canadians, who were not very formidable and whose numbers seem vague and fluctuating, the besiegers were no longer, for the present, a cause of serious anxiety to Carleton. He had ample provisions and could now obtain firewood with less risk than before; above all, his garrison were thoroughly pleased with themselves and with him. Whatever complacency he may himself have felt he relaxed nothing of his precautions, and resolutely refused all proposals of his subordinates to adventures in the open field. A smaller man would have given way before their

importunities. His inspiring demeanour is thus described: "General Carleton wore still the same countenance; his looks were watched and they gave courage to many; there was no despondency in his features. He will find a numerous band to follow him in every danger. He is known, and that knowledge gave courage and strength to the garrison."

It was creditable to the spirit of the besiegers that they held to their posts. The expected reinforcements came in but slowly, the rigours of a Canadian winter proving not only a deterrent to the new provincial troops, but to the equally crude machinery that was to supply them with the necessities of war and existence. The besiegers, however, persevered. Batteries were opened to be quickly dismounted by Carleton's guns, save one at Point Lévis, which proved too remote or too feeble to do much harm either to town or shipping. The prisoners in the city made one or two fruitless attempts to escape, though they confessed to receiving the best treatment that circumstances afforded. Later on they were removed to the ships. Ninety-four, of British birth mostly, had voluntarily enlisted in the garrison corps, but when a dozen or two had deserted, Carleton confined the rest on the ships in the harbour.

25

Rumours of all kinds were constantly brought into the city by deserters, among others that large forces were preparing for a descent on Canada in the spring, a statement that the evacuation of Boston¹ by Howe made readily credible. But Carleton had reason to

30

¹ *Evacuation of Boston.* Howe was compelled to abandon Boston and to transport his army to Halifax on the 17th of March, 1776.

hope that an army from England had already sailed for the St. Lawrence, though he knew nothing for certain, and a sole dependence on the good intentions of a British ministry of that day might well whiten
5 the hair of a remotely placed official. By early April, 1776, reinforcements had brought the besieging force up to two thousand men including invalids, and with some heavier guns they hoped to breach the walls. But the walls mocked their batteries for the brief period
10 before the defenders' fire put them out of action. The *habitants*, too, had become restive under the continuous demands for provisions and labour in return for worthless paper money and were changing their attitude, while the Americans irritated by the cold, privation
15 and defeat, were no longer always able to maintain a philanthropic and brotherly mien towards the peasantry. No thought of another attempt to storm the city was entertained by Wooster, and indeed improved defences both in the way of timbers and batteries,
20 together with a united and confident garrison, put it out of the question. The last diversion of all was on May 3rd after the ice had broken, when a fireship was sent up the harbour from the Point of Orleans and caused some brief anxiety, but ultimately drifted out of harm's
25 way.

Early in the morning of May 6th, 1776, every citizen still in bed in Quebec rose to join the crowds that were already thronging the ramparts. A sail was in sight, and Carleton soon knew that Dartmouth --
30 by this time, however, superseded, had not failed him. The sail proved to be that of the British frigate *Surprise*, to be followed quickly by the *Isis* and a war-sloop. They brought welcome reinforcements, and the still better news that a fleet and armament were

upon the sea. For the moment there were infantry and marines enough for the occasion. These were soon landed, and Carleton now felt justified in indulging the long-restrained ardour of his faithful garrison. "The drums beat to arms," says a joyous 5 diarist, "and it was ordered that all volunteers in the English and French militia should join the sailors and troops to march out and attack the rebels. Every man almost in both corps was forward to offer his service."

Carleton placed himself at the head of eight hundred 10 men, and the column marched at twelve o'clock, with McLean, whose conduct in the siege had been above praise, second in command, and Caldwell, who was sent to England a day or two later with the joyful tidings, at the head of his British militia. The little army 15 extending itself across the plain made a noble appearance. General Thomas¹ was now in command of the enemy *vice* Wooster, who had been recalled in disgrace, but he had made no preparations, and a general stampede at once ensued. Nine hundred Pennsylvanians 20 took ambush for a brief period in the woods, but they soon joined their flying countrymen. "They left cannon, muskets, ammunition, and even clothes," to quote again from the diary. "We found the roads strewed with rifles and ammunition, while clothes, 25 bread, and pork all lay in heaps in the highway with howitzers and fieldpieces. So great was their panic that they left behind them many papers of consequence to those who wrote them, and to whom they were writ. Look which way soever, one could see men flying and 30 carts driving away with all possible speed."

¹ *General Thomas.* Thomas died from an attack of small-pox before reaching Chambly on the retreat from Canada.

The small force of provincials who throughout the spring had occupied Point Lévis and protected the battery there, on seeing the plight of their friends on the north shore of the river, had nothing for it but to
5 make their escape as best they could through the woods. A few days later Carleton, with the humanity that always distinguished him, ordered all his militia officers to institute a diligent search of the surrounding country for such American fugitives as might be in
10 distress through hunger or sickness. These were to be afforded all necessary relief, and to be brought to the General Hospital, where proper care should be taken of them. This was made known by proclamation, together with the promise that as soon as their health was re-
15 stored they should have full liberty to return to their respective provinces.

In the meantime the frigates had sailed up the river to seize the enemy's craft; the General Hospital and suburbs had been re-occupied, and by night
20 (May 6th, 1776) all was over. The Americans had vanished, and peace brooded once more over the faithful city.

THE UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS

FROM "JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE," BY DUNCAN CAMP-
BELL SCOTT

IN 1782 Upper Canada was a wilderness of forest. Here and there had the axe notched the shore with clearances for forts or blockhouses. At Cataraqui stood the barracks on the site of old Fort Frontenac; Fort Niagara guarded the entrance of the river; Fort Erie protected its blockhouses with palisades; Detroit remained the most important post to the westward. Around these military posts there had been just sufficient cultivation to supply the officers' mess with vegetables, and the table of the privates with the necessary relief from a course of salt pork. But the country had never been thought of as a field for colonization until the British government was compelled to turn its attention to the task of providing homes for the Loyalists who had fled to England¹ from New York with Carleton, or who were trooping into Quebec from the south by way of Lake Champlain and the Riche-

¹ *Fled to England.* In July, 1778, Carleton retired from the governorship of Canada and returned to England. In April, 1782, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, and at once took up his headquarters at New York. On the 29th of November, 1783, after the conclusion of peace with the colonists, he withdrew from New York, taking with him his army and those Loyalists who wished to accompany him.

lieu. When Carleton evacuated New York he took upwards of forty thousand souls, his army and refugee Loyalists, to England. Despite the irritation of congress at delay and the constant pressure of his own
5 government, the general refused to leave the city until every Loyalist who wished to accompany him had been provided for. The experience of those who were unfortunate enough to be left behind proved that his estimate of the importance of removing the men who
10 had fought, and the women and children who had suffered, for the loyal cause was not extravagant. Disaster and personal loss had often visited those of the conquering party, and the events were too near, their memory was burned too deeply, to admit of clear
15 sight, or of mercy after victory. To have left the Loyalists in New York, the great stronghold of the cause, would have been to abandon them to the lawlessness of partizan spirit. Many were so abandoned, of necessity, throughout the country, and upon their
20 sufferings in mind, body and estate, was the province of Upper Canada founded.

The first refugees arrived before the war had ceased. The men were frequently drafted into the provincial regiments; the women and children were maintained
25 at Machiche, St. Johns, Chambly, Sorel and other points at which they arrived naturally upon the termination of their journey. This influx continued up to 1790, and consisted of those who had suffered the more actively for the royal cause. There was at
30 Niagara also a considerable number of refugees who sought the protection of the garrison, and who began early settlement of the shores of Lake Ontario. After the year 1790 began the immigration of those who were loyal at heart and welcomed the opportunity of settle-

ment again under the British flag, free from the contempt of their republican neighbours and the political servitude in which they lived. Simcoe,¹ by his proclamation of free grants of land, created what would, in these days, be called a "boom," and the morals and principles of some of the settlers looked strangely like those of the ordinary land-grabber and speculator. But every one was a Royalist to his ardent mind.

In the summer of 1782 there were sixteen families, comprising ninety-three persons, settled at Niagara. They had two hundred and thirty-six acres under cultivation, and had harvested eleven hundred and seventy-eight bushels of grain and six hundred and thirty of potatoes. The erection of a saw and grist mill upon the farm of Peter Secord, one of these pioneers, was contemplated. These sixteen families were supporting themselves with the assistance of rations granted by the government, and they are the first settlers of Upper Canada.

The first refugee Loyalists arrived in the eastern district in the summer of 1784, and took up land upon the St. Lawrence below Cataragui, at that place, and upon the shores of the Bay of Quinté. They were all poorly equipped to gain their subsistence from the forest-covered domain which had been granted them. Soldiers and Loyalists alike had but the clothing upon their backs. When a family had a few chairs or a table, saved somehow from the ruin of their homesteads, guarded and transported with care and labour out of all proportion to the value of the articles, they were affluent amid the general destitution. The pioneer

¹ *Simcoe.* John Graves Simcoe was appointed governor of Upper Canada in 1791 and continued in office until 1796.

in our day can suffer no such isolation, and cannot endure like hardships. All civilization rushes to help him. He has only to break through the fringe of forest that surrounds him and he finds a storehouse of all the world's goods necessary for him at his command. By his fire he may read of the last month's revolutions, or the triumphs of peace in the uttermost parts of the earth. Whatever he touches in his cabin of rough logs may remind him of his comradeship with all the other producers of the globe, and every kernel of grain that he grows and every spare-rib that he fattens goes to swell the food-wealth of the world. For the pioneers of 1784 it was strife for bare subsistence; they were as isolated as castaways on a desert island who had saved part of the ship's stores and tools.

The government gave them a little flour and pork and a few hoes and axes, and with these they were to dispossess those ancient tenants who had for ages held undisputed possession. They drew lots for their lands. The lucky ones obtained the farms near the posts or where some advantage of water, springs, groves, or soil made the situation desirable. When they were located began the great work of providing shelter. While the trees were felled and the rude hut was taking shape, the family slept under the stars upon the ground, huddled together for warmth or protection from the dew and rain. Blankets they had none; their clothes were tattered, and as the chill nights of September came upon them, thus exposed, they suffered from cold. With dull axes, which they could not sharpen, they made their clearances, and when they were made they had no seed, or but a handful, to sow between the stumps upon the rich loam which was ready to yield them an hundred-fold. Their single implement was

the hoe, with which they chopped roots, turned the soil, covered the little seed. With toil in the clear air they sharpened hunger that could not be assuaged from the small supply of food which they were compelled to hoard against the length of the winter. Their staples 5 were flour and pork, but to these could be added fish, that were in such plenty that a hooked stick was all that was required to take them from the streams, and wild fowl that could be captured with the most primitive snare. 10

They faced all the harshness of life in the wilderness except the hostility of the Indians. These first Upper Canadian settlers never turned their cabins into block-houses, never primed their guns and stood alert at the loopholes "while shrill sprang through the dreaming 15 hamlet on the hill, the war cry of the triumphant Iroquois." The savages who surrounded them were refugees like themselves, allies who had fought with the disbanded regiments and now, side by side, had turned them to the peaceful employments which were alike 20 strange and untoward to the wielders of the tomahawk and the bearers of the rifle. Only upon occasion, maddened with rum for which they had bartered their treaty presents, did they drive off and kill the precious cattle and frighten the women and children when the 25 men were at the post for rations. The normal attitude of the Indian to the settler was one of friendliness. In his possession he held the wisdom produced by centuries of conflict with the conditions that faced the pioneer. And when the rewards that he might look 30 for were small he taught him to take fish without hooks or bait, to prepare skins without the tanner's vat, to make delicious sugar from the sap of the maple, to snare rabbits, to build canoes. He brought to the

cabin door venison and dishes of birch-bark, and pointed out nuts and roots that were edible and nutritious.

The winter of 1785 found these earliest settlers for the most part prepared to withstand its rigours. Their
5 little log huts were reared in the middle of the clearings, supported by immense chimneys of rough stones, which opened in the dwarf interiors fireplaces nearly as large as one side of the enclosure. The chinks in the logs were stuffed with moss and clay, and the stones
10 were cemented by nothing stronger than the soil from which they had been gathered. Night and day they kept fires roaring on the hearths. The precincts gradually widened in the snow as trees fell under the axe, and the interior of the cabins began to take on an air
15 of rude comfort as, one by one, rough articles of furniture were knocked together by the light of the fire. The enforced stinting of the coarse, wholesome food, the splendid purity of the air, the sweeping ventilation of the little living-room kept clear by the sweet flame
20 of maple and birch, the invigorating labour with axes amongst the resinous pine and the firm-trunked hard woods gave health and strong sleep, and happy hearts followed. C/

In the spring when the fall wheat began to show in
25 a shimmer of green rising about the stumps equally over all inequalities of the ground, springing up gladly, renewing itself with a bright joy in the virgin earth, the labourers saw the first of hundreds of springtimes that were to gladden Ontario. These first blades of
30 wheat, making patches of green where the axes had cleft the forest for sunshine and rain, were flags of hope unfurled for the women and children. It ripened, this virgin grain, breast high, strong headed, crammed with the force of unwearied soil and sweeping sunshine,

When hands gathered it, and threshed it, and winnowed it, it was crushed in the hollow scooped in a hardwood stump — a rude mortar. And if the swords of the old soldiers had not actually become plowshares or their spears pruning-hooks, at least their cannon 5 balls were frequently made into pestles and, suspended by cords from the end of a pole which was balanced like a well-sweep, pounded grain peacefully into coarse and wholesome flour.

And while the grain waxed plump and ripened, the 10 women, with resourceful energy, sought to improve the conditions of life. In most cases they had saved the seed which produced the first harvest, now they endeavoured to clothe their families, learned the Indian tanning, spun thread from the fibres of the basswood 15 bark, and made clothing of deerskin, trousers and smocks and petticoats, that would withstand for years the rough usage of a frontier life. Stockings were unknown; at first the children frequently spent the whole of the winter months indoors for lack of the 20 necessary foot-covering. When it became possible to obtain leather every man was shoe-maker to his own family, and produced amorphous but comfortable boots. Looking forward to the raising of wool, flax, and hemp, hand-looms were fashioned in the winter 25 and spinning-wheels, and when the materials were at hand the women learned to spin and weave, and linsey-woolsey took the place of buckskin. When the proper materials were not at hand blankets were made from anything that could be found, for instance, 30 "hair picked out of the tanner's vat and a hemp-like weed growing in the yard." A common knife and a little invention filled the housewife's shelves with many a small article that made keeping the house

easier — uncouth basswood trenchers, spoons, and two-pronged forks whittled from hard maple, and bowls done out of elm knots. The steady progress of the colony received but one serious check. The “hungry year” came with its dearth and its privation.

After three years of toil some slight degree of comfort had been reached, but in the summer of 1787 disaster fell upon them. The harvest was a failure. During the winter that followed there was dire suffering. They lived upon whatever they could find in the woods. They killed and ate their few cattle, their dogs, their horses. The government could not cope with such wide and far-reaching destitution, and the people were thrown upon their own resources. The story of the circulation of the beef bones among neighbouring families to give flavour to the thin bran soup is familiar. They lived on nuts and roots, on anything from which nourishment could be extracted. When the early summer brought up the grain they boiled the green, half-filled ears and stalks, and as the year drew on distress gradually vanished and comfort and improvement marched on.

Transport and communication were difficult. The lakes and rivers were the natural carriage-ways, and bush-trails, a foot or two wide, blazed at every turn, led from one clearance to another. But despite these obstacles the people were sociable and helpful. Their interests were alike, their sufferings had been similar, and common difficulties drew them together. They passed on the knowledge of small, but to them important, discoveries in domestic processes and economies. The invention of one became common property. No man endeavoured to conceal his discovery of the best way to extract stumps or mount a potash-kettle,

to build a bake oven, or to shape felloes. Every woman gave away her improvements in bread-making, in weaving, and in dyeing. They were like members of one family, and for good-fellowship and economy in labour they joined forces, and in "bees" the men 5 raised barn-timbers and rooftrees, the women gathered around the quilting-frames and the spinning-wheels.

After labour there was mirth. The young men fought and wrestled and showed their prowess in many a forgotten game. The women made matches 10 and handed on the news. There was dancing, good eating, and deep drinking. In the winter there were surprise parties and dances when the company came early and stayed for a day or two. But the weddings were the chief occasions for jollity and good fellow- 15 ship. Before the year 1784 the ceremony was performed by the officer-in-command at the nearest post, or the adjutant of the regiment; afterwards, until the passage of the Marriage Act,¹ by the justice of the peace for the district. The bride and groom with 20 their attendants, sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, followed the trail through the woods. If the journey were long they rested overnight at the house of some neighbour. They made as brave a show as possible, the bride decked out in calico, calamink, 25 or linsey-woolsey, the bridegroom in his homespun. Or may be each in inherited garments of a more prosperous age, the bride in a white satin that had taken an ivory shade in its wanderings, the bridegroom in a

¹ *The Marriage Act.* This was an act passed in 1793 for the purpose of legalizing marriages that had up to that time taken place in Upper Canada. See pages 85-88 in Scott's *John Graves Simcoe*.

broadcloth coat with brass buttons, knee breeches, and beaver hat. There was a fiddler always to be found, and no wedding was complete and perfect without a dance. Sometimes odd expedients were necessary to
5 supply the ring, and there is record of one faithful pair that were married with the steel ring attached to an old pair of skates. ()

The chief messengers from the outside world were the itinerant preachers and the Yankee pedlars. They
10 were the newsmongers who brought into the wilds word of the latest happenings, six months old: how Robespierre ¹ had cut off his king's head, how Black Dick ² had beaten the French, how Jay ³ had made a treaty with King George, how the king's son ⁴ was on
15 the way to Niagara, how they were to have as a gov-

¹ *Robespierre*. One of the leading figures of the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror. It was chiefly through his influence that Louis XVI was brought to the block. The king was beheaded on the 21st of January, 1793. On the 28th of July of the next year Robespierre himself suffered a similar fate.

² *Black Dick*. On the 1st of June, 1794, Viscount Howe obtained a great victory over the French fleet off Ushant, dismasting ten and capturing seven vessels. Howe was familiarly known in the navy as "Black Dick," not on account of his dark complexion, but by reason of a mezzotinto portrait of himself which hung in his cabin.

³ *Jay*. On the 19th of November, 1794, John Jay, first chief justice of the United States, who had been sent on a special mission for the purpose, concluded a treaty with the British government which provided for the settlement of a number of disputed questions between the two countries.

⁴ *The king's son*. During the summer of 1792, Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, the son of George III and the father of Queen Victoria, visited Fort Niagara. At this time he was stationed at Quebec with his regiment, the 7th Fusiliers.

error of their own, the fighting colonel¹ of the Queen's Rangers, how a real French duke² was at Kingston in the officers' quarters, how there was to be another war³ with the States. All the stray news from Albany or Quebec was talked over while the pedlar opened his 5 pack of prints and gee-gaws, or before the preacher turned from these worldly subjects to the one nearest his heart, the welfare of the eternal soul.

They were not greatly troubled with money; they made their own in effect, by trade and barter, or, in 10 fact, by writing on small slips of paper that passed everywhere at their face value until that became indecipherable from soil or friction, when the last holders made fresh copies, and on they went with their message of trust and confidence. The earliest settlers had 15 no means of producing wealth. Their markets were their own simple tables, their exports reached the next concession, or the nearest military post. Their first and chief source of ready money was the sale of potash, a crude product from hardwood ashes. In 20 fact, not many years have passed since the disappearance of the V-shaped ash vat and the cumbrous potash kettle. Their next source of revenue was the pro-

¹ *Fighting colonel.* Simcoe had distinguished himself during the Revolutionary War as colonel of the Queen's Rangers, a corps composed of loyalists from Connecticut and New York.

² *French duke.* The Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, who had fled from France to escape the Reign of Terror, was for some time in Upper Canada during Simcoe's governorship.

³ *Another war.* Until the conclusion of Jay's treaty the possibility of another war between Great Britain and the United States was always present. The disputes were mostly over the continued occupation by Great Britain of the western territory that had been ceded to the United States.

visioning of the troops, and in 1794 agriculture had so developed that the commissariat was in that year partly supplied from the provincial harvest. Then timber became the staple, and the whole of the exports — potash, grain, and pork — were freighted to Montreal on rafts. Cattle at first were scarce and hard to provide for. Some of the earliest settlers had cows and oxen at places in the States, that had to be driven hundreds of miles through the woods over paths slashed out for their passage. In the first settlement at Oswegatchie (Prescott) for a population of five hundred and ninety-seven there were only six horses, eight oxen and eighteen cows. During the "hungry year" the first cattle were nearly all killed for food, but before long every farmer had his oxen and cows that ranged the woods as nimble as deer and picked up their living in the same fashion.

Saw and grist-mills were soon established. First at Niagara, then at Napanee, at Kingston, at York on the Humber, and gradually they were added to as the harvests became greater and the demand for flour and lumber more extensive. Taking the grist to mill was always the most important event of the year. By tedious and dangerous voyages along the lake shore in open boats or scows, the settler took his bags of grain that were precious as gold to him, and returned with his flour, less the toll exacted for grinding, fixed by law at one-twelfth. While he was away the women kept the houses, lying awake at night with the children sleeping around them, shivering at the howling of the wolves. Often were they alarmed by rumours of disaster and loss to the one who had gone forth "bearing his sheaves with him," but who doubtless "came again with rejoicing."

As time went by there grew up those distinctions and degrees which must inevitably develop in society that begins to be settled and secure. Governor Simcoe to the full extent of his power aided these divergences. He thought nothing would contribute so greatly to the solid, four-square loyalty of the province as an aristocracy. This aristocracy he hoped to build out of the materials at his hand: half-pay officers, many of whom bore names that were honoured at home and whose traditions were those of good families and settled ways of life, the few leading merchants and landed proprietors who were the financiers and bankers of the colony. Upon these men fell the honours that Simcoe could recommend or bestow; they were the legislative councillors, the lieutenants of counties, the magistrates. They were the flower of the loyalty of the province, and from them he would have formed an aristocracy with hereditary titles, estates, coats-of-arms, permanent seats in the legislative council. From this eminence the people descended in degree through the professional classes, the farmers, the shopkeepers, to the substratum of the land-grabber and speculator, whose loyalty was tainted and whose motives and movements were imagined and observed with suspicion.

Upon even the humblest individual of the early immigration Simcoe desired to place some distinction that might make his stand for a united empire known to posterity.

At Lord Dorchester's¹ instance a minute had been passed by the executive council of the province of

¹ *Lord Dorchester.* In 1786 Sir Guy Carleton was raised to the peerage as Lord Dorchester, and was again appointed governor-general of Canada.

Quebec on November 9th, 1789, directing the Land Boards of the different districts to register the names of those who had joined the royal standard in America before the Treaty of Separation of 1783. But the
5 Land Boards took but little interest in the matter, and Simcoe found the regulation a dead letter. He revived it by his proclamation dated at York on April 6th, 1796. This instrument directed the magistrates to ascertain under oath and register the names of such
10 persons as were entitled to special distinction and land grants by reason of their cleaving to the king's cause in a troublous time. The next ensuing Michaelmas quarter sessions ¹ was the time set for the registration, and from this date began the designation of United
15 Empire Loyalist.

¹ *Quarter sessions.* The quarterly meetings of the magistrates for the administration of justice.

OVER THE GREAT DIVIDE

FROM "MACKENZIE, SELKIRK, SIMPSON," BY THE
REV. GEORGE BRYCE

THE great voyage¹ was now begun. The party started out full of hope. On the Peace River, as the travellers Butler,² Gordon,³ and others have told us, the scenery is beautiful, the banks are fertile, and animal life is abundant. An elk killed and a buffalo 5 wounded were the achievements of the young men as they landed for the night encampment.

Mackenzie thus describes the river: "This magnificent theatre of nature has all the decorations which the trees and animals of the country can afford it; 10

¹ *The great voyage.* Mackenzie reached the Peace River late in the fall of 1792, and spent the winter there preparing for his journey. He was accompanied on the expedition by his lieutenant, Alexander Mackay, six French Canadians, and two Indians. The party set out from the fort on the Peace River on the 9th of May, 1793.

² *Butler.* Sir William Francis Butler accompanied the Red River Expedition under Sir Garnet Wolseley to Fort Garry in 1870, and later was sent as a special commissioner to the Indians of the Saskatchewan. He published two books dealing with his journeys, *The Great Lone Land* and *The Wild North Land*.

³ *Gordon.* In 1879, the Rev. Daniel M. Gordon, now Principal of Queen's University, Kingston, made a journey from Victoria to Winnipeg, *via* the Peace River. He wrote an interesting account of his travels in a volume entitled *Mountain and Prairie*.

groves of poplars in every shape vary the scene; and their intervals are enlightened with vast herds of elks and buffaloes; the former choosing the steeps and uplands, and the latter preferring the plains. . . . The
5 whole country displayed an exuberant verdure; the trees that bear a blossom were advancing fast to that delightful appearance, and the velvet rind of their branches reflecting the oblique rays of a rising or setting sun, added a splendid gaiety to the scene,
10 which no expressions of mine are qualified to describe."

The men of the voyage were, however, too intent on this enterprise to be delayed by the hunt or by the fertile valleys. The banks soon rose to greater heights, and the navigation became even more difficult. The
15 cascades and rapids became correspondingly more trying, and soon the first band of Rocky Mountain Indians who were questioned failed to tell anything of the route beyond the first mountains, though they took much interest in the proposed expedition. Within three
20 days of starting it became evident that bears were very numerous. Along the bank footprints were seen of the great grizzly, the terror of Indian and trader alike. The monotony was varied by the *voyageurs* having to gum their canoe,¹ which had already met
25 hard usage; by stopping to examine an island with canoe-birch growing upon it; by passing the entry of a tributary river; and by watching the shore for bears and buffaloes.

¹ *Canoe*. "A monster canoe, twenty-five feet long, of twenty-six inches hold and four feet nine inches beam, and yet light enough for two men to carry without fatigue for miles, was to transport the whole party, and their belongings, provisions, goods for presents, arms, ammunition and baggage to the weight of three thousand pounds." — *Bryce*.

A dangerous rapid well-nigh put an end to their canoe on the tenth day out, and thus some delay occurred. Again *en route* the party saw the strength of the stream increase. The shore rose three hundred feet above the water, and on the following day the 5 members of the party were compelled to cut steps in a soft stone wall around a boiling rapid, in doing which their canoe was broken. No bark was found with which to mend it, and poles were used to steady the canoe till at last in a bottomless whirlpool all help 10 failed. The river became one continuous rapid, and even the well-trained *voyageurs* were thoroughly alarmed.

Discontent now very naturally began to prevail among the men. Mackenzie had little hope himself. 15 Further progress up the river by canoe seemed impossible. Clambering with his Indians to the heights above the river the explorer took observations, and his own account of the situation is: "The river is not more than fifty yards wide, and flows between stu- 20 pendous rocks, from whence huge fragments sometimes tumble down, and falling from such height form the beach between the rocky projections."

It seemed as if an impassable barrier had been reached. Mackenzie sent Mackay¹ and the men up 25 the steep banks to explore, and they returned through woods, over steep hills, and through deep valleys, with

¹ *Mackay*. Alexander Mackay was Mackenzie's lieutenant on the expedition, and relieved his chief of much responsibility. Subsequently Mackay entered the service of John Jacob Astor in the fur-trade on the Pacific coast. In 1811 he was killed by the Indians during the attack on the *Tonquin*. The entire crew of the vessel were massacred, and over one hundred Indians met their death by an explosion of gunpowder

the news that the rapids extended for three leagues. They were not, however, discouraged, and the narrator states that a "kettle of wild rice, sweetened with sugar, along with the usual regale of rum," renewed their
5 courage.

After the return of this scouting party, the resolve was taken to fight a way through the obstacles, and persevere in the journey. Cutting a road through the thicket, and up rocky steep, slow progress was made
10 — a mile on one day, three miles the next — over steep hills, dragging the canoe on the toilsome march, until, after making about eight miles in three days, they succeeded in passing above the falls of the river, and in bringing up all their baggage. A longer route
15 taken by the Indians could have been followed. It was probably a foolish thing to take the more direct way, but it was certainly an exhibition of British endurance. The fall that had been passed was the one of which the River Indians had asserted that it was equal
20 to Niagara. In this they were of course mistaken.

The rapids passed, the canoe was again committed to the opposing stream, and the journey resumed. They were now completely surrounded by mountains, whose tops were perhaps fifteen hundred feet above
25 the stream. The altitude was beginning to influence the temperature. The journey, though near the end of May, was sometimes interrupted by the party landing to build a fire, on which occasion what the commander continues to call a "regale" of rum was always
30 indulged in with satisfaction.

On the last day of the month the forks of the Peace River were reached, and the party was much troubled as to which branch of the stream should be followed. Mackenzie was anxious to take that coming from the

north-west, but the old Indian guide insisted that by taking that from the south-east a carrying-place would soon be reached by which another large river would be accessible. On one of the last days of the month the commander himself began to feel that his voyage 5 was becoming a heavy burden. Thoughts of the lower country recurred to him, and he took an empty rum-keg, and after writing a full account of his voyage thus far, placed it in the keg, which he carefully sealed up and committed to the rushing river to be carried per- 10 haps to some kind friend, or to be picked up by some other explorer as his last memorial. The crew, also driven nearly to desperation, in their fancy heard a discharge of firearms, which arose entirely from their disturbed imaginations. They were quite mistaken as 15 to its being a war party of the Kinistineaux, as no Indians appeared.

Mackenzie, Mackay, and all their followers were now becoming sceptical as to there being any carrying-place over the mountain height. The leader and his 20 lieutenant, leaving the canoe, betook themselves to a mountain on the river bank, laboriously clambered to the top of it, and Mackenzie climbed the highest tree on the height. He saw only a vast wooded expanse before him. The mid-day sun proved very hot to the 25 party shut up in the forest, and mosquitoes were a continual plague. On the return of the two spies their canoe was gone, whether up or down stream they could not tell. Great anxiety and many gloomy surmises filled their minds, but in time the crew, which 30 had found the river exceedingly difficult, appeared. The strong current had broken their canoe, and thus delayed them.

On Sunday, June 9th. the party was surprised to

hear confused sounds in front of them. They proceeded from some Indians who had chanced to see them, and had become much alarmed. Not knowing how strong or in what mood their unseen neighbours
5 might be, Mackenzie directed his boatmen to cross to the opposite side of the river. When they were not more than half way across the river, two men appeared upon the cliff brandishing their spears, and showing their bows and arrows in token of defiance, meanwhile
10 shouting loudly. After parleying, however, they were reassured, and the party joined them on the shore. They had never seen white men before. They examined the newcomers with the greatest care. The whole Indian encampment proved small. There were
15 only three men, three women, and seven or eight boys and girls.

Mackenzie's hopes of finding the carrying-place, and the way over the height, now began to rise again. The Indians, however, professed the utmost ignorance
20 of any such thing. The explorer plied them with presents, gave sweets to the children, and made himself most friendly. They still denied any knowledge of the road he sought. Time is of value in dealing with Indians, and so Mackenzie continued to delay,
25 hoping to gain the much desired information. Their reticence was probably ignorance and mental obliquity rather than any studied concealment.

One evening one of the men lingered by the fire after the others had retired. In talking he let fall a
30 reference to a great river, and pointed significantly up the river on which they were. Pressed by Mackenzie he at length admitted that there was a great river flowing towards the mid-day sun (south), of which a branch flowed near the river up which they were pro-

ceeding. He stated also that there was a small river leading from the Peace River into three small lakes connected by portages, and that these emptied into the great south river. He denied any knowledge, however, that the great river emptied into the sea. Before 5 giving up the matter with the Indian, Mackenzie succeeded in getting a map of the region, with its rivers and lakes drawn on a strip of bark by a piece of coal. One of the Indians was now induced to act as guide to the desired spot. 10

On the day after the interview with the friendly Indian the party started, and two days afterwards quitted the main branch, and, working their way in the canoe painfully up the encumbered stream, reached the first small lake. The whole country in the neigh- 15 bourhood was flooded, so that the canoe passed among the branches of the trees. They were surrounded by the evidences of life. No Indians were met, but beavers abounded; swans were numerous; ducks and geese were plentiful in this secluded retreat; tracks of 20 the moose were visible; blue jays, yellow-heads, and one humming-bird cheered their hearts; and wild parsnips, of which the *voyageurs* were fond, grew in abundance.

On June 12th, 1793, Mackenzie makes the important announcement:—“The lake is about two miles in 25 length, east by south, and from three to five hundred yards wide. *This I consider as the highest and southernmost source of the Unjijah or Peace River.*” It was a long way from this mountain jungle to the mouth of the river ¹ which he had seen when approaching the 30 Arctic Sea.

¹ *The river.* On the 14th of July, 1789, Mackenzie reached the mouth of the river that now bears his name.

Hope had now reached fruition. The height of land had been gained. The boat crew landed and unloaded their canoe, and here they saw running over a low ridge of land — eight hundred and seventeen paces
5 long — a beaten path to another lake. On each side of the lake was a mountain, the space of the lake between them being about a quarter of a mile. A *cache* of Indian supplies — nets, hooks, and some implements — was found. Mackenzie took what he
10 wanted of them, and left in exchange a knife, fire steels, beads, awls, etc. At this point two streams tumble down the rocks from the right and flow eastwards towards the other lake; and from the left two other streams pour down the rocks and empty into the
15 lake they were approaching. Proceeding west the water was now flowing with them, and they were beginning to descend the western slope. Six miles from the third lake a careful and painful effort was made, and the western side was reached. The river ran with “great
20 rapidity, and rushed impetuously over a bed of flat stones.” Beside this far west stream they encamped for the night.

The boiling waters of this treacherous river were worse than anything they had seen on the Peace River.
25 On the resumption of the journey after their long portage the canoe had been dashed with fury on the rocks. Then a few holes were stove in the bottom, and the sad condition of the *voyageurs* was such that the “Indians without attempting to help, sat down
30 and gave vent to their tears.” The canoe escaped destruction, although ammunition and some utensils of value were lost. While mending the shattered canoe Mackenzie despatched two of his men through the westward thickets to find the great river they were seeking.

On June 19th Mackenzie makes this announcement: "The morning was foggy, and at three we were on the water."

The story of the succeeding days need hardly be given. The travellers were on the stream which Simon 5 Fraser¹ descended in 1806; this has always been regarded as one of the most dangerous feats ever undertaken by man. With every variety of anxiety and hardship they courageously braced themselves to the effort, and for three days continued the descent. 10

On the way a band of intelligent Indians was met, whose chief was a sagamore of great age and wisdom. The old chief informed the explorer that he was not on the way to the western sea. He was going south- 15 wards, and the sea lay to the west. Provisions were getting short, and the prospect was that, if any time were lost, there could be no return to Lake Athabaska during the season then in progress. He was informed that he should have left the Nechaco, or Fraser River, a considerable distance up, by a small tributary flow- 20 ing into it from the west.

To turn back is not easy for any one, much less to a man of Alexander Mackenzie's stamp. But the Indians adhered to their former statements, and startled him with their frankness. One said, "What 25 can be the reason that you are so particular and anxious in your enquiries of us respecting a knowledge

¹ *Simon Fraser*. In 1806, Simon Fraser, with twenty-three men in four canoes, descended the river which has since that time borne his name. Fraser was one of the most daring and enterprising of the traders in the service of the North-West Company. See *The Remarkable History of The Hudson's Bay Company* by George Bryce, pages 142-146.

of this country? Do not you white men know everything in the world?"

These were hard questions for the explorer. Mackenzie gathered his company around him, and laid
5 before them the alternative of going back, or of going on and proceeding by the land route to the sea. To his surprise and gratification they all declared in favour of the march to the sea. Mackay, the faithful lieutenant, engraved the explorer's name and the date
10 of arrival at this farthest point down the Fraser River on a tree upon the banks of the stream.

And now on the west side of the great divide¹ the party is pausing before the return journey² up the furious Fraser.

¹ *Great divide.* The watershed between the rivers running into the Pacific and those which flow towards the Arctic and Atlantic Oceans.

² *Return journey.* After proceeding up the Fraser River for some days, the travellers at length reached the point from which they were advised by their Indian guides to begin their overland march. After innumerable hardships and dangers the journey to the sea was finally accomplished. On the side of a rock that had served him as a defence against hostile Indians, Mackenzie, using a mixture of vermilion and melted grease, wrote: "*Alexander Mackenzie from Canada by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three. Lat. 52° 20' 48'' N.*" The expedition returned to the fort on the Peace River after an absence of eleven months.

THE BATTLE OF QUEENSTON HEIGHTS

FROM "GENERAL BROCK" BY LADY EDGAR

THE night of October 12th was cold and stormy. General Brock sat late at his desk writing despatches and instructions for the officers commanding at different points of the river. His last letter to Sir George Prevost¹ was written then. It reads: "The vast number of troops which have been this day added to the strong force previously collected on the opposite side, convinces me, with other indications, that an attack is not far distant. I have, in consequence, directed every exertion to be made to complete the militia to two thousand men, but I fear that I shall not be able to effect my object with willing, well-disposed characters."

It was past midnight when the general sought repose. Before the dawn, about four a.m., the sound of distant firing roused him from his short slumber. The hour so long expected had come at last. In a few moments the general was in his saddle, and not waiting even for his aide-de-camp to accompany him, he galloped off by the road to Queenston, seven miles away, whence the ominous sound came.

¹ *Sir George Prevost.* In September, 1811, Sir George Prevost arrived at Quebec as governor-general, and commander-in-chief of the forces in North America. Brock was at this time president and administrator of the government of Upper Canada during the absence of Lieutenant-Governor Gore in England.

It was not the general only who had waited with impatience for the decisive moment. One of the young volunteers on guard, Lieutenant Robinson,¹ in his account of that fateful day, writes: "The lines
5 had been watched with all the care and attention which the extent of our force rendered possible, and such was the fatigue which our men underwent from want of rest, and exposure to the inclement weather, that they welcomed with joy the prospect of a field
10 which they thought would be decisive."

All along the river bank from Fort George to Queenston, a mile or two apart, Canadian batteries commanded different points where a crossing might be made. The principal were at Brown's Point, two
15 miles from Queenston, and Vrooman's Point, nearer that village. At the former was stationed a company of York volunteers, under the command of Captain Cameron.² The latter, which commanded Lewiston and the landing at Queenston, was guarded by another
20 company of York volunteers under the command of Captain Heward.

Above the village of Queenston the channel of the river narrows, and the banks rise to the height of three hundred feet, thickly covered with trees and shrubs.
25 At the ferry between Lewiston and Queenston the river is one thousand two hundred and fifty feet in breadth, with a depth of from two to three hundred feet and a very rapid current. Half way down the hill, or the mountain, as it was called, was the redan battery,

¹ *Lieutenant Robinson.* Afterwards Sir John Beverley Robinson, chief-justice of Upper Canada.

² *Captain Cameron.* Duncan Cameron, who was some years later a member of the legislative council for Upper Canada and provincial secretary.

where the flank light company of the 49th Regiment, under Captain Williams, was stationed. The other flank company of the 49th, the grenadiers, numbering only forty-six men, under Major Dennis,¹ was at the village of Queenston, where also was stationed Captain 5 Chisholm's² company from York, and Captain Hatt's company of 5th Lincoln militia. There was a small detachment of artillery in the village, with two 3-pounders, under the command of Lieutenant Crowther and Captain Ball. On the height opposite Queenston, 10 on the American side, was Fort Grey, whose guns commanded that village. From this point the firing first came.

It was about half an hour before daylight, probably about four a.m., in the midst of a violent storm 15 of wind and rain, that, under cover of darkness, the Americans began crossing the river. They were seen by the militia sentinel on guard at Queenston, who immediately ran to the guardhouse to give the alarm. As soon as possible, the grenadier company of the 20 49th and the militia company stationed there, began firing on them, using also the two 3-pounders with good effect. Colonel Van Rensselaer,³ a relative of the

¹ *Major Dennis.* Afterwards Major-General Sir James Dennis, K.C.B., who distinguished himself in India.

² *Captain Chisholm.* William Chisholm served through the war and eventually obtained the rank of colonel. He was in command of the left wing of the Loyalists at Montgomery's Tavern in 1837. For several years he represented the county of Halton in the legislature.

³ *Colonel Van Rensselaer.* General Stephen Van Rensselaer, the American commander, was not a professional soldier, and relied in military matters on the advice of his cousin and adjutant, Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer

general, who had charge of the troops crossing, was at this time severely wounded, as well as many of the rank and file, before the boats had gone far from their side of the river. The gun at Vrooman's Point, which
5 commanded the landing at Lewiston, also joined in, and many of the boats were driven back, whilst others in a battered condition drifted down the river and ran ashore near Vrooman's Point. These on board, many of them wounded, were made prisoners.

10 The detachment of York Volunteers at Brown's Point, two miles below, had heard the firing, and made ready to join their comrades in helping to drive the invaders back. Dawn was now glimmering in the east, but the semi-darkness was illumined by the dis-
15 charge of musketry and the flash of artillery. In spite of the constant fire, some boats succeeded in effecting a landing.

Captain Cameron, in command of the York company at Brown's Point, was at first undecided whether to
20 advance or to remain at the post assigned him to defend. It had been thought that the enemy would make various attacks at different points on the line, and this might be a feint, while the real landing would take place elsewhere. However, he decided to go to
25 the aid of the troops above, and had scarcely set off on his march in that direction when General Brock galloped past alone. He waved his hand as he flew by, bidding the little troop press on.¹ Little need to tell them to follow. Their confidence in their general was

¹ *Press on.* Lady Edgar thinks that "this command is the origin of the report that Brock's dying words were, 'Push on, brave York Volunteers.' It is more probable that this was the occasion on which he used them."

unbounded. They were ready to follow him through danger and to death. In a few minutes the general reached and passed Vrooman's Point, and was soon followed by his two aids, Major Glegg¹ and Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell.²

5

The reception given to the invaders had been a warm one. To quote from Lieutenant Robinson: "Grape and musket shot poured upon them at close quarters as they approached the shore. A single discharge of grape from a brass 6-pounder, directed by Captain 10 Dennis of the 49th, destroyed fifteen in a boat. Three of the *bateaux* landed below Mr. Hamilton's garden in Queenston and were met by a party of militia and a few regulars, who slaughtered almost the whole of them, taking the rest prisoners. Several other boats were so 15 shattered and disabled that the men in them threw down their arms and came on shore, merely to deliver themselves up as prisoners of war. As we advanced with our company, we met troops of Americans on their way to Fort George under guard, and the road was 20 lined with miserable wretches suffering under wounds of all descriptions, and crawling to our houses for protection and comfort. The spectacle struck us, who were unused to such scenes, with horror, but we hurried to the mountain, impressed with the idea that the enemy's 25 attempt was already frustrated, and the business of the day nearly completed."

Thus far, everything had gone well for the defense,

¹ *Major Glegg.* An officer of the 49th Regiment who rendered distinguished service throughout the war, especially at Detroit and Queenston Heights.

² *Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell.* Macdonell was member for Glengarry in the provincial legislature and was acting attorney-general.

and the general, on his approach to Queenston, was greeted with the news that the greater number of the boats had been destroyed or taken. Another brigade of four boats was just then setting off from Lewiston, and the 49th Light Company, which had been stationed at the redan battery on the mountain, was ordered down to assist in preventing them landing. General Brock had ridden forward to inspect this battery, where the 18-pounder had been left in charge of eight artillerymen. He had just dismounted to enter the enclosure when shots from above warned him that the enemy had gained the crest of the hill. As was learned afterwards, Captain Wool,¹ of the United States army, on whom devolved the command of the boats when Colonel Van Rensselaer was wounded, had very skillfully conducted his men up the river, and on shore, until they came to a fisherman's path leading up the south side of the mountain, a path so steep and narrow that it had been left unguarded. They had succeeded in reaching the height unobserved, where they remained concealed by the crags and trees. It was now about seven in the morning.

In the dangerous and exposed position in which General Brock found himself, there was nothing to be done but to order the gun to be spiked and to evacuate the battery with all the speed possible. There was no time for him even to mount his horse. He led it down the hill and entered the village to reform his troops and gather them for an assault on

¹ *Captain Wool.* Wool subsequently reached the rank of major general in the United States army, and rendered distinguished service in Mexico and in the early days of the Civil War. He remained in active service until 1863.

the enemy above. There were but two hundred men available for the work, two companies of the 49th, about a hundred men, and the same number of militia. It was a hazardous and daring enterprise to attempt to regain the heights with so small a force, but regardless of danger, as was his wont, General Brock, on foot, led his men to the charge up the hill. In vain was the attempt. The enemy above were so advantageously placed, and kept up such a tremendous fire, that the small number ascending were driven back. Again the general rallied them, and proceeded by the right of the mountain, meaning to attack them in flank. His tall form and prominent position as leader made him too easy a mark. Scarcely had he ascended a few paces when the fatal bullet struck him in the breast,¹ and he fell, "too prodigal of that life so needed by all."

Of the last words of a hero there are always conflicting stories. Some say Isaac Brock called on his men to press forward, some say he murmured his sister's name; but who can doubt but that his faithful heart, in that supreme moment, was back with his loved ones, and it was not the heights of Queenston he was climbing but the steep cliffs of Guernsey,² and it was not the roar of the cannon or the rush of the river that filled his dying ear, but the sound of the waves as they surged in the caverns of his island home.

¹ *In the breast.* The coat that Brock wore when struck by the "fatal bullet" is now in the Archives Department at Ottawa, having recently been presented to the Canadian people by the grand-niece of the dead hero.

² *Guernsey.* Brock was born and spent his early years in Guernsey, one of the Channel Islands.

They bore him from the place where he fell to a house at the foot of the hill, where his comrades covered his lifeless form, and then went back to the work he had left them to do. The handful of troops
5 had retreated to the village, where they were joined by the two companies of York Volunteers from Brown's and Vrooman's Points. About half-past nine Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell, aide-de-camp, formed them again for an advance up the hill to dislodge the
10 enemy.

Lieutenant Robinson tells the story: "We were halted a few moments in Mr. Hamilton's garden, where we were exposed to the shot from the American battery at Fort Grey, and from several field pieces
15 directly opposite to us, besides an incessant and disorderly fire of musketry from the sides of the mountain. In a few minutes we were ordered to advance. The nature of the ground and the galling fire prevented any kind of order in ascending. We soon scrambled to the
20 top to the right of the battery which they had gained, and were in some measure covered by the woods. There we stood and gathered the men as they advanced, and formed them into line. The fire was too hot to admit of delay. Scarcely more than fifty had col-
25 lected, about thirty of whom were of our company, headed by Captain Cameron, and the remainder of the 49th Light Company, commanded by Captain Williams.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell was mounted and
30 animating the men to charge. . . . The enemy were just in front, covered by bushes and logs. They were in no kind of order, and were three or four hundred in number. They perceived us forming, and at about thirty yards distance, fired. Lieutenant-Colonel Mac-

donell, who was on the left of our party calling upon us to advance, received a shot in his body and fell. His horse was at the same instant killed. Captain Williams, who was at the other extremity of our little band, fell the next moment apparently dead. The remainder 5 of our men advanced a few paces, discharged their pieces, and then retired down the mountain. Lieutenant McLean¹ was wounded in the thigh. Captain Cameron, in his attempt to save Colonel Macdonell, was exposed to a shower of musketry, but most miracu- 10 lously escaped. He succeeded in carrying off his friend.² Captain Williams recovered from the momentary effect of the wound in his head in time to escape down the mountain. This happened, I think, about ten a.m.”

15

The two companies of the 49th and the militia retreated to Vrooman's Point to wait there for further reinforcements, and the Americans remained in possession of the hill. They were enabled by the cessation of fire from the Canadian side to land fresh troops un- 20 molested, and to carry back their dead and wounded in their boats.

The morning had ended most disastrously for the British. The beloved and trusted general was still

¹ *Lieutenant McLean.* Archibald McLean, who was afterwards taken prisoner at Lundy's Lane and held until the close of the war. He subsequently became chief-justice of Upper Canada, and after the union of the provinces, president of the court of error and appeal.

² *Carrying off his friend.* Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell was carried to a farm house near at hand, and taken as soon as possible to Fort George, where he died. The bodies of Brock and Macdonell lie side by side beneath the monument on the heights at Queenston.

in death, and near him lay his friend and aide-de-camp, mortally wounded. All along the line from Fort George to Erie, the evil tidings sped. How the news of defeat was brought to Fort Erie is told
5 by an officer of the 100th stationed there. He relates how on the morning of October 13th the booming of distant artillery was faintly heard. Hunger and fatigue were no longer remembered, and the men were ordered to turn out under arms, and were soon on their
10 way to the batteries opposite the enemy's station at Black Rock. The letter continues:—

“We had not assumed our position long, when an orderly officer of the Provincial Dragoons rode up and gave the information that the enemy were attempting
15 to cross at Queenston, and that we must annoy them by every means in our power along the whole line, as was being done from Niagara to Queenston. The command was no sooner given than, bang, went off every gun we had in position. The enemy's guns were
20 manned and returned the fire, and the day's work was begun. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon when another dragoon, not wearing sword or helmet, bespattered horse and man with foam and mud, rode up. Said an old ‘green tiger’¹ to me, ‘Horse and man
25 jaded, sir; depend upon it he brings bad news.’ ‘Step down and see what news he brings.’ Away my veteran doubles and soon returns. I knew from poor old Clibborn's face something dreadful had occurred. ‘What news, Clibborn—what news, man?’ I said, as he
30 advanced towards the battery that was still keeping up a brisk fire.

¹ *Green Tiger*. The sobriquet of the 19th Regiment. When this regiment came to Canada Brock was its colonel.

"Clibborn walked on, perfectly unconscious of the balls that were ploughing up the ground around him. He uttered not a word, but shook his head. The pallor and expression of his countenance indicated the sorrow of his soul. I could stand it no longer. I placed my hand on his shoulder. 'For heaven's sake, tell us what you know.' In choking accents he revealed his melancholy information. 'General Brock is killed; the enemy has possession of Queenston Heights.' Every man in the battery was 5 paralyzed. They ceased firing. A cheer from the enemy on the opposite side of the river recalled us to our duty. They had heard of their success down the river.

"Our men who had in various ways evinced their 15 feelings, some weeping, some swearing, some in mournful silence, now exhibited demoniac energy. The heavy guns were loaded, traversed and fired as if they were field pieces. 'Take your time, men; don't throw away your fire, my lads.' 'No, sir, but we 20 will give it to them hot and heavy.' All the guns were worked by the forty men of my company as if they wished to avenge the death of their beloved chief."

At Niagara, the other extremity of the line, in 25 obedience to General Brock's last order, sent from Queenston, a brisk fire had been kept up all morning with the American fort opposite, whence hot shot poured on the little town, threatening to envelop it in flames. Captain Vigareaux, R.E., by 30 a daring act of valour, saved a powder magazine from being ignited. As at Fort Erie, news of the disaster at Queenston only impelled the artillerymen to redouble their exertions. So well directed

was their fire that by mid-day the American fort was silenced. ^

Major-General Sheaffe¹ had, early in the morning, in obedience to a summons from General Brock, prepared to march to Queenston with about four companies of the 41st, three hundred and eighty rank and file, and nearly the same number of militia, together with the car brigade² under Captain Holcroft. News of the repulse and the loss of the general was followed by a second despatch, telling of Lieutenant-Colonel Maedonell's attempt to take the hill, which had ended so disastrously.

General Sheaffe, with the field pieces of the car brigade, arrived at Vrooman's Point about eleven o'clock, and found there the handful of troops who had retreated to that place to await his arrival. Captain Holcroft's company, with the heavy guns, was placed in position to command the landing at Lewiston, and to prevent any more troops from crossing. The general decided that it was useless to attempt a charge up the hill in the face of the addition that had been made to the enemy's force, and their commanding position on the heights. He determined, therefore, to make a long détour through the fields and woods behind Queenston. His force had been strengthened by about one hundred and fifty Mohawk Indians, under Chief

¹ *Major-General Sheaffe.* Sheaffe had been associated with Brock for many years, he being second in command under Brock, of the 49th Regiment. At this time he was Brock's chief of staff, and, on the death of his superior, took over the command.

² *Car brigade.* This brigade, under the command of Captain Holcroft of the Royal Artillery, was a volunteer organization composed of farmers' sons with trained horses.

Norton,¹ who had come from the lake shore near Niagara, had skirted the village of St. Davids near Queenston, and then had silently moved eastwards through the dense forest, hemming the Americans in. About two p.m. Major Merritt's² troop of cavalry 5 appeared on the scene, and later still, a detachment of the 41st and two flank companies of militia arrived from Chippawa.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon when the real battle of Queenston Heights began. General 10 Sheaffe had gradually advanced towards the battery on the mountain held by the enemy. One spirit animated all the men, a fierce desire to avenge the death of their beloved chief, and to drive the aggressors back from Canadian soil. The main body on the right 15 consisted of the 41st, and the flank companies of the Niagara militia, with two field pieces, 3-pounders, which had been dragged up the hill. The left consisted of the Mohawk Indians and a company of coloured troops, refugee slaves from the United States. The Light 20 Company of the 49th, with the companies of York and Lincoln militia, formed the centre. In all a little over a thousand men, of whom half were regulars.

The Indians were the first to advance, and the Americans, who were expecting an attack from quite 25 another direction, were completely taken by surprise.

¹ *Chief Norton.* Captain John Norton, a Scotsman, or to give him his Indian name, Teyonikhokorawen (sad-faced warrior). Soon after the war, he quarrelled with the Mohawks, and returned to Scotland, taking with him his Indian wife.

² *Major Merritt.* Major Thomas Merritt served through the Revolutionary War in the Queen's Rangers, and afterwards settled in the Niagara Peninsula. He raised the Niagara Dragoons and commanded them at Queenston Heights.

General Sheaffe had succeeded in reaching their rear unseen. There was scarcely time for them to change their front when a fierce onslaught was made on them from all sides, the Indians uttering their terrific war
5 whoop, and the rest of the troops joining in the shout.

In vain did the American officers, among them Winfield Scott,¹ attempt to rally their men. A panic seized them in the face of the determined fire that was poured upon them, and, scarcely waiting to fire
10 a volley, they fled by hundreds down the mountain, only to meet more of their enemies below. There was no retreat possible for them. It was indeed a furious and avenging force that pressed upon them, and drove them to the brink of that river whose deep
15 waters seemed to offer a more merciful death than that which awaited them above. They fell in numbers. "The river," says one who was present, "presented a shocking spectacle, filled with poor wretches who plunged into the stream with scarcely a prospect of
20 being saved." Many leaped from the side of the mountain, and were dashed to pieces on the rocks below.

At last the fire from the American batteries at Lewiston ceased, and the battle was over in one short hour. Brock was indeed avenged. Two officers were
25 now seen approaching bearing a white flag. They were conducted up the mountain to General Sheaffe, and with difficulty the slaughter was stopped. By the surrender, General Wadsworth and over nine hundred men, including sixty officers, were made prisoners of

¹ *Winfield Scott.* Scott, who was at this time a lieutenant-colonel, took part in many of the most important actions of the war. He was afterwards commander-in-chief of the American army, and conducted the campaigns in the war with Mexico.

war. It was a complete victory, but dimmed by a national loss. That loss was felt through the two years of fighting that followed the battle of Queenston Heights. Sheaffe, who succeeded the fallen general, was lacking in the qualities that are requisite for a 5 successful commander.¹ His conduct at the taking of York in 1813, proved his unfitness for the position. Procter² who had been left in command on the western frontier also lacked the firmness in action and fertility of resource that characterized the leader who 10 had opened the campaign so brilliantly. But the influence which the lost leader³ wielded on the youth of the province lived after him, and stimulated them throughout the long struggle "to keep the land inviolate." Under Vincent⁴ and Harvey and Drum- 15

¹ *Successful commander.* James Hannay in *The War of 1812* says: "For the weakness of the garrison and for the incredible folly of building a new warship at a place so poorly guarded Sir George Prevost must be held responsible, but Major-General Sheaffe, who commanded at York, was also greatly to blame because he did not put the limited means at his disposal to a better use."

² *Procter.* General Procter who was in command on the Detroit frontier was defeated at Moravian Town by the American troops under General Harrison. For this defeat, he was tried by court-martial at Montreal, found guilty and sentenced to a public reprimand and suspension from rank and pay for six months.

³ *Lost Leader.* "The noble shaft on Queenston Heights dominates a wide expanse of land and lake. Deep and strong is the current of the river that flows at its base, but not deeper and stronger than the memory of the man who sleeps below."
— *Lady Edgar.*

⁴ *Vincent, etc.* Brigadier-General Vincent commanded at Stony Creek; Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, the deputy adjutant-general, afterwards governor of New Brunswick, led

mond and Macdonell and de Salaberry they fought as veterans,¹ and when at the close of the war they laid down their arms not one foot of Canadian territory was occupied by the enemy.

the charge at the same battle; Lieutenant-General Sir George Drummond commanded the British forces at Lundy's Lane; Macdonell was the distinguished colonel of the Glengarry Fencibles; de Salaberry was the lieutenant-colonel of the Canadian *Voltigeurs*, and the hero of the battle of Chateauguay.

¹ *Fought as veterans.* "England has been served well by her soldiers in many lands, and is not ungrateful to those who have built up her empire. At critical times in her history the right man has appeared on the scene possessing the force of character needed for special work. Such a man was Isaac Brock. He entered the English army at the close of the eighteenth century, when the service was at its lowest ebb. Fortune placed him under the command of such enlightened men as Sir Ralph Abercromby and General Stewart, and the lessons he learned from them he afterwards put to good use. When, in 1812, the long-smouldering enmity between the United States and England burst into the flame of war, and Canada was the battleground, he entered upon the defence of the country entrusted to his charge with an indomitable spirit. With very inefficient means at his disposal, he used effectively what came to his hand. He took the untrained militia of Upper Canada and made of them a disciplined soldiery. He taught the youth of the country a lesson in courage and patriotism, and with infinite patience, tact, and judgment, he led them through their first days of trial. By his contemporaries Sir Isaac Brock was looked upon as the saviour of Canada and time has not tarnished the lustre of his fame." — *Lady Edgar*.

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

FROM "SIR JAMES DOUGLAS" BY ROBERT HAMILTON
COATS AND R. E. GOSNELL

How the great enterprise¹ — "the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson Bay," — came to birth in the revival of mercantile activity which followed the restoration of King Charles II; how Rupert,² Prince of England and Bohemia, dashing cavalier and patron of commerce, became its founder; how the powers conferred upon it in that lavish age included, in addition to the "whole, entire and only liberty of Trade and Traffick," the absolute ownership of a third part of North America, with authority to frame laws, administer justice, wage war or make peace therein; how its early servants

¹ *Great enterprise.* The charter of the Hudson's Bay Company is dated May 2nd, 1670. Bryce, in *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company* says: "The full name of the Company given in the Charter is, 'The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into Hudson Bay.' They have usually been called 'The Hudson's Bay Company,' the form of the possessive case being kept in the name, though it is usual to speak of the bay itself as Hudson Bay."

² *Rupert.* Prince Rupert was the nephew of Charles I and cousin of Charles II. For his services during the Civil War, he was handsomely rewarded by his cousin. It was at his instance that the charter was granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, of which he was the first governor.

planted its rule on the edge of the wilderness amid difficulties that would have driven back any but the most determined of men; how through a century and a half of steady progress — of bloody wars with the
5 French, implacable rivalries with other traders, thrilling adventures and vicissitudes innumerable — it drove its purposes to a victorious end, sending out its explorers on journeys that gave a new face to the continent, naming some of the greatest rivers and moun-
10 tains of the earth, spreading step by step the arteries of its trade and the empire of its flag over thousands of miles, and over thousands of souls; civilizing sometimes, corrupting and degrading often, bartering continually; — all these varied and commanding activities
15 combine to form an episode unrivalled for the romantic and the picturesque in our history.

The general system under which the company carried on its multiform and far-extending business has been many times described. In the manner in which it
20 adapted means to ends it could have little to learn from the largest enterprise of modern days. The minuteness of the trade and the tremendous distances which it traversed rendered necessary a method of accounting, at once the most elaborate and exact.
25 For organization purposes, the vast dominions of the company were divided into four great departments. These were again divided into districts. Each district had its fixed and permanent trading-posts, as well as a number of temporary or flying stations, the latter
30 frequently the precursors of the former. Here were the vital points of contact between the company and the trade from which it drew its life's blood: here the traders met and bartered with the Indians. Important posts or parties, together with the transportation

service, were in the charge of chief clerks; a lower grade of employees managed the outlying stations. The districts were under the chief traders. In the departments, dépôts and distributing points were presided over by the factors, while over all the chief factor bore rule. An army of postmasters, interpreters, mechanics, guides, canoemen and apprentices made up the rank and file, though even here degrees were strictly recognized. In general terms, the service was made up of three classes; the servants, the clerks and apprentices, and the officers. The second class sat at the officers' mess and were addressed as gentlemen.

But the officers were the real oligarchy, bound by special covenant to fidelity, and receiving their reward not in salary but in a share of the company's profits. Subject to the orders of his superior and the regulations of the company, each officer was supreme in his sphere of duty. The system, as will be seen, was military in its absolutism. The chief factor was lord paramount; his word was law, to support and symbolize which the office was enveloped in a halo of dignity. When a chief factor transacted the most ordinary business, his habiliments were elaborate and imposing; when he travelled, it was in state, with a retinue by whom he was lifted in and out of his conveyance, his arrivals and departures heralded by the firing of salutes. High above all reigned the governor of the company, a personage scarcely less exalted than the most absolute of sovereigns, owing allegiance to no one save the directorate in London, whose policy, as a matter of necessity, was largely dictated by his advice. Great indeed was the majesty that hedged about a governor of the company. But the show was no greater than the reality, though

part of a deliberate plan to overawe the natives and subordinates where rebellion or mutiny would have meant extinction. It succeeded in so far as the immediate object was concerned; but, as examples show,
5 it had sometimes an unhappy effect upon the ruler.

The company's Western Department included the entire region between the watershed of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, bounded on the north by Russian territory¹ and the Northern Department (the latter embracing the country drained
10 by the rivers running into the Arctic Ocean and Behring Sea) and on the south by the Mexican republic. Roughly, it extended a thousand miles in length, by half that distance in average width. The dépôt for
15 the department was, in the early days, at Fort Vancouver, a post of considerable size (its stockade measuring 750 feet in length by 600 feet in breadth) situated on the Columbia River six miles above its junction with the Willamette. Afterwards it was removed to Vic-
20 toria. Here the company's goods were received from abroad for distribution throughout the coast and the interior. Here were collected the furs as they were sent in by the traders for subsequent transportation to England around Cape Horn. Here, too, were the
25 headquarters of the chief factor and the heart of the official life of the region. While Fort Vancouver remained the dépôt for a period of some twenty-three years, the districts north of the Columbia landed their supplies at the mouth of the Okanagan, and packed
30 them on horses thence to their destination. For the service of the other districts, lying nearer the coast,

¹ *Russian territory.* This was, of course, before the purchase of Alaska from Russia by the United States.

the furs and goods were carried to and from the Fraser River. Goods for the Upper Columbia and Kootenay were landed at Fort Colville near the Rocky Mountains; those for the Snake River were landed at Walla Walla. The former became in time the 5 centre of all the trade on the Columbia — the last post touched at by the brigades on their long journey from Fort Vancouver to Norway House. The coast ports were supplied by sailing vessels, the returning boats and vessels bringing in the furs collected at the several 10 ports. The trade in New Caledonia, and in what is now known as the Yukon in the Northern Department, was carried on by way of the Athabaska route, of which the forts on Hudson Bay were the *entrepôts*.

The activity of the company in the Western Depart- 15 ment was by no means restricted to the trade in peltries. In process of time, large farms were established in the vicinity of Victoria, on Puget Sound, in the Willamette valley and in other parts of the country. The trade in horses, cattle, sheep, pigs and general farm produce, 20 soon attained importance. The erection of grist mills, sawmills, tanneries and dairies followed. A considerable fishing industry sprang up. Within a few years, the ships of the company were regularly exporting flour, grain, beef, pork and butter to the 25 Russian settlements in Alaska and Siberia, lumber and fish to the Sandwich Islands, and hides and wool to England. The company was the first to open the coal mines of Vancouver Island, at Fort Rupert first and later at Nanaimo. The wants of its own com- 30 munities and of the vessels of the coast furnished the original incentive; but the sale of a thousand tons to a vessel bound for California, during the height of the mining excitement, proved the inauguration of a

trade that has since become of first importance to the district. It was, in fact, the proportions reached by the general commerce of the department, even at an early stage of its development, and the industries thus
5 founded and nourished, that first attracted the attention of the outside world to the potentialities of the Pacific coast, the result being a gradual process of settlement that eventually extinguished the company's rule. The debt that is owing to the men who
10 were the first to recognize in the natural resources of the country still greater possibilities than existed in the gathering of peltries — even though they could not clearly foresee the effect that was to follow for the company whose servants they were — is one that could
15 not easily be overestimated. Had they followed tamely in the footsteps of precedent; had they lacked sagacity to perceive the wealth that lay in the fertile valleys, the teeming rivers and the timber-clad hillsides of the vast dominion whose present destiny they
20 shaped at will, they might have purchased for the great master of their allegiance a few doubtful years of the power to barter "skin for skin";¹ but they would have thrown back the progress of the coast at least a quarter of a century, and they would have missed the
25 opportunity of conferring upon their country a boon far beyond the gift of any corporation bound to a single and narrow circle of activity.

A word may be added as to the treatment accorded by the company to the Indians, — its equals in trade,
30 its benefactors even, but with all the pathetic helplessness of an inferior race. There can be no doubt that

¹ *Skin for skin.* A literal translation of the motto on the arms of the Hudson's Bay Company: *Pro pelle cutem.*

the company was, before everything else, a keen trader. It took the Indian as it found him — and it kept him so. To be a hunter and a wanderer was the Indian's nature; he would have been useless to the company had he been otherwise. There was no effort, accordingly, 5 to civilize him, — none, for almost two centuries, to christianize him. But he received justice — or what he thought was justice — even kindness, dictated though both were by policy. To gain the Indian's confidence was a necessity of the trade; and the com- 10 pany made sure of this. In two centuries of rule over tribes of every shade of racial difference, ranging from the Eskimos of the Labrador and Arctic coasts, through the Crees, Sioux and Blackfeet of the interior, to the polyglot chaos of tribes that dwelt along the Pacific 15 Ocean, war was unknown and violence and bloodshed only an occasional incident. Thousands of miles from any force of arms, trade was carried on in scores of factories in perfect trust. The coast tribes of the Western Department were perhaps more truculent and 20 excitable than any on the continent, yet here as elsewhere Indian outrage was comparatively unknown. The manner in which intercourse between the trader and the Indian was held had much to do with this result. Respect was always paid to fairness in ex- 25 change. Docile as the Indian was, and avid of the goods that made his barren existence happier, this was no difficult task. In other respects an equal discretion was displayed. The relations established were ever those of reserve; familiarity was permitted on no 30 pretext, though firmness was tempered with tact, courtesy and the constant expression of good-will. The frequent intermarriages of traders with native women did much to secure the good feeling of the

Indian, and to further the interests of the company. That some of the traders were profligate must be admitted; that rum found its way into the trade has been proved; but in these, as in other matters, the law of
5 self-preservation was the constant monitor of the company. In the summing up, history will accord thanks to the company for the fruits of its attitude towards the Indian. Without that preparation of the Indian mind, the peaceful settlement of the country
10 would have been impossible. When the hour of the fur trade had struck and the settler stood at the gateway of the mountains, he found a native race subdued to the methods of the white man, and ready to play its part in the new order. The Indian is to-day a
15 more important factor in the labour market of British Columbia than of any other portion of the Dominion.

Of the life that went on beneath the extraordinary surface of the company's system and policy, who could give even a glimpse in a page? It was a world in
20 itself, so romantic and full of wonders that every fire-side has listened to the story of it. Over half a continent it embraced scenes the most varied and sublime on the earth — the forest growth of ages, pathless and impenetrable; the endless prairie, roamed by millions
25 of bison; mountain lands unrivalled for wildness and grandeur; all alike interlaced by one of the most beautiful and majestic chains of waterways in the world, running down into the everlasting sea which bore the company's trade to its ultimate markets.
30 Dotted the wilderness, hundreds of miles apart, were the "forts" or trading-posts of the company, whence it drew sustenance and by which it kept its grasp upon the land. Even these were stamped with individuality. Built, large and small, upon a common plan — a low

and quadrangular centre structure surrounded by high palisades, flanked by bastions and defended by six- and twelve-pounders — they aptly proclaimed the rigour that ruled within. This was no less than martial law, to transgress which was punished with swift and ruthless severity, and from which the only seasons of respite came at Christmas and the New Year, or on the days, many months apart, on which news and letters were brought from the outside world — sunbursts of joy that made their recurrence the chief solace of an existence unparalleled for monotony and isolation. The brigades were the agents of this beneficence, the tie that bound the forts together, and constituted the veins and arteries of the system. In summer they came with goods in "York boats," — nine tripmen to each, and eight boats to the brigade, — or by cart and cayuse over the prairie; in winter they brought only letters and newspapers by sledge and snowshoe, the gaily caparisoned dog trains making forty miles a day over the snow, sheltering under trees and bushes, and covering once a year the entire round of the company's trading-posts. But the real bond of union was the comradeship of the service which laid its spell (or its terror) upon all, the essence of which was its touch upon the aboriginal and the elemental in both wild and human nature. In such a setting, life took on varied forms. The man of mighty will turned all to power, triumphing over difficulties that subdued and appalled others, and rose because he could do nothing else. Others in whom the flame burned less fiercely, adapted themselves to their surroundings and hewed out paths of useful effort. Others were broken utterly, consuming their hearts in the awful toil and loneliness until death or madness came.

HOWE'S FIRST TRIUMPH

FROM "JOSEPH HOWE" BY THE HON. J. W. LONGLEY

IN 1835 fate presented a great opportunity to Howe. At this time the city of Halifax had no charter and was governed as a part of the county of Halifax by a bench of magistrates appointed by the governor, and
5 in no sense responsible to the people. The general belief then prevailing was that this bench of magistrates had become negligent and corrupt in the administration of the affairs of the city, and Howe was quite free with his criticisms of this body from time to time.
10 At last he published a letter signed "The People," arraiguing the magistracy of Halifax in scathing terms. The writer declared that he ventured to affirm, without the possibility of being contradicted by proof, that the magistracy had by one stratagem or another taken
15 from the pockets of the people in fines, exactions, etc., amounts in the aggregate that would exceed £30,000. "Could it not be proved," he said, "and is it not notorious that one of the present active magistrates has contrived for years to filch from one establishment,
20 and that dedicated to the poor and destitute, at least £300 per annum?" He further declared that from the pockets of the poor and distressed at least £1,000 was drawn annually and pocketed by men whose services the country might well spare.
25 The result of the publication of this letter was startling. The magistrates of Halifax, a powerful body,

tendered their resignation, and they also demanded the prosecution of Howe for libel. The attorney-general submitted an indictment for criminal libel to the grand jury of the county, and a true bill was found. The magistrates believed, undoubtedly, at this moment 5 that Howe, whose newspaper¹ was becoming very troublesome to the governing class, was about to be destroyed. It was known that he was without means and that the entire influential class was hostile. He would be tried by a chief justice appointed by the 10 governor, and a member of the "Council of Twelve."² He would be prosecuted by an attorney-general identified with the government and interested in maintaining the privileges of the chosen few. Once convicted and sentenced to imprisonment, as they hoped, his 15 paper would be destroyed, he himself discredited and ruined, and a blow thereby struck which would have its due moral effect upon any other incipient reformer who might essay to follow in his footsteps.

Howe's conduct in respect to this libel suit marks in 20

¹ *Newspaper.* In January, 1828, Howe, for the sum of £1,050, purchased the *Nova Scotian* and became its sole editor and proprietor.

² *Council of Twelve.* Judge Longley says: "In Nova Scotia, one anomaly, especially objectionable, existed. The executive and legislative councils were identical, that is, the same men who, in their capacity as a second chamber, passed upon all laws, constituted the executive council to execute them. In this council sat the chief justice, the bishop, the collector of customs and other officials. When acting as a legislative council, while the legislature was in session, this body sat with closed doors and its deliberations were as secret as when acting in its capacity as an executive council." This Council, from the number of members composing it, was known as "The Council of Twelve."

a striking manner the moral fibre of the man. He has furnished an account of his course when confronted with the indictment. This is probably the most authoritative statement of the matter: "I went to two or
5 three lawyers in succession, and showed them the attorney-general's notice of trial, and asked them if the case could be successfully defended. The answer was 'No. There was no doubt that the letter was a libel. That I must make my peace or submit to fine and im-
10 prisonment.' I asked them to lend me their books, gathered an armful, threw myself on a sofa and read libel law for a week. By that time I had convinced myself that they were wrong and that there was a good defence, if the case were properly presented to the
15 court and jury. Another week was spent in selecting and arranging the facts and public documents on which I relied. I did not get through before a late hour of the evening before the trial, having only had time to write out and commit to memory the two opening para-
20 graphs of the speech. All the rest was to be improvised as I went along. I was very tired but took a walk with Mrs. Howe, telling her as we strolled to Fort Massey, that if I could only get out of my head what I had got into it, the magistrates could not get a verdict.
25 I was hopeful of the case, but fearful of breaking down, from the novelty of the situation and from want of practice. I slept soundly and went at it in the morning, still harassed with doubts and fears, which passed off, however, as I became conscious that I was commanding the attention of the court and jury. I was much
30 cheered when I saw the tears rolling down one old gentleman's cheek. I thought he would not convict me if he could help it. I scarcely expected a unanimous verdict, as two or three of the jurors were connections,

more or less remote, of some of the justices, but thought they would not agree. The lawyers were all very civil, but laughed at me a good deal, quoting the old maxim that 'he who pleads his own case has a fool for a client.' But the laugh was against them when all was over." 5

Up to this period, although for seven years actively engaged in newspaper work, there is no record that Howe had ever undertaken to deliver a speech in public, and yet, rejecting the advice of the lawyers, he was proposing to face a court politically hostile, the 10 attorney-general and associate counsel, and boldly make his own defence in a criminal action, in which under the rules of law, he would be precluded from offering evidence in support of the truth of the statements in the libel. The difference between a great man 15 and an ordinary commonplace man is usually manifested by one or two striking incidents. The ordinary man, in Howe's situation, would have made his peace with the magistrates. A careful apology would have been drawn up and published in the *Nova Scotian*, the 20 proceedings withdrawn, and the abuse not only continued but fortified by this token of cowardly surrender. The great man, the heaven-inspired hero, is he who is able to brush aside all considerations of expediency, all timorous opportunism, and recognizing the moral 25 principles involved in the issue, boldly dares to put everything at stake and challenge fate. Such a man was Joseph Howe, and in the splendid heroism which characterized his action in 1835 we have the key to the qualities and character of one of the greatest men 30 British America has yet given to the world.

The day of trial came. Sir Brenton Halliburton, the chief justice, presided, Mr. S. G. W. Archibald, the attorney-general, prosecuted, and with him was

associated Mr. James F. Gray, a well known advocate. A jury was sworn, and Mr. Gray opened the case for the Crown. At the conclusion of the opening address Mr. Hugh Blackader was called to prove publication, but did not appear, because, being in warm sympathy with Mr. Howe, he refused to attend. Steps were about to be taken to issue a warrant for his arrest. Not to be excelled in generosity, Howe arose promptly and admitted that he was the proprietor of the *Nova Scotian*, and that the article had appeared in that paper on January 1st, with his knowledge. The Crown's case being thus admitted, Howe rose to speak in his own defence. That speech has been preserved and can be found in the "Speeches and Public Letters."¹ It was delivered by a layman, unused to courts, and at that time unused to public speaking. Many of the topics dwelt upon in his speech were local in their character and are of no permanent interest to the world, but nevertheless, it is scarcely going too far to say that the whole history of forensic eloquence in British jurisprudence has rarely furnished a more magnificent address to a jury than Mr. Howe's, and certain passages of it will not suffer when placed side by side with the great forensic orations of Burke,² Sheridan, Erskine and Webster.

¹ "Speeches and Public Letters." This book has long been out of print, but a new edition, edited by the Hon. Mr. Justice Longley, is promised shortly.

² *Burke, etc.* Burke and Sheridan are best remembered as orators to-day by their speeches in connection with the trial of Warren Hastings; Erskine, who rose to the rank of lord chancellor, was perhaps the greatest advocate that the English bar has produced; Daniel Webster stands unrivalled in the United States as an orator and advocate.

One would have expected some timidity from a man situated as Howe was, but he had scarcely proceeded ten minutes before he assumed a bold and aggressive tone, and this he maintained to the end. He commented very early upon the fact that instead of 5 taking proceedings against him civilly for libel, in which case he would have been able to furnish proof of the statements, they had chosen to proceed criminally, by which method all enquiry as to the truth or falsity of the libel was precluded, and only his motive in pub- 10 lishing it could be judicially enquired into. "Why," he demands, "if they were anxious to vindicate their innocence, did they not take their proceedings in a form in which the truth or falsity of the statements made could have been amply enquired into?" And then he 15 answers the question in these terms:

"Gentlemen, they dared not do it. Yes, my Lords, I tell them in your presence and in the presence of the community whose confidence they have abused, that they dared not do it. They knew that 'discretion was 20 the better part of valour,' and that it might be safer to attempt to punish me than to justify themselves. There is a certain part of a ship through which when a seaman crawls, he subjects himself to the derision of the deck, because it is taken as an admission of cow- 25 ardice and incompetence; and had not these jobbing justices crawled in here through this legal lubber-hole of indictment, I would have sent them out of court in a worse condition than Falstaff's¹ ragged regiment — they would not have dared to march, even through 30 Coventry, in a body."

¹ *Falstaff's ragged regiment.* See Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Part I, Act IV, Scene 2.

It is difficult to avoid the temptation of quoting many passages from this remarkable speech, but, as it occupied six and one-quarter hours in delivery and covers many pages, this is impossible. A paragraph
5 or two of the peroration may be fittingly inserted, which cannot fail to impress any one possessed of a shadow of sentiment or imagination with the wonderful power of this young man. ()

“Will you, my countrymen, the descendants of these
10 men; warmed by their blood; inheriting their language; and having the principles for which they struggled confided to your care, allow them to be violated in your hands? Will you permit the sacred fire of liberty, brought by your fathers from the venerable
15 temples of Britain, to be quenched and trodden out on the simple altars they have raised? Your verdict will be the most important, in its consequences, ever delivered before this tribunal; and I conjure you to judge me by the principles of English law, and to
20 leave an unshackled press as a legacy to your children. You remember the press in your hours of conviviality and mirth — oh! do not desert it in this its day of trial.

“If for a moment I could fancy that your verdict
25 would stain me with crime, cramp my resources by fines, and cast my body into prison, even then I would endeavour to seek elsewhere for consolation and support. Even then I would not desert my principles, nor abandon the path that the generous impulses of
30 youth selected, and which my riper judgment sanctions and approves. I would toil on, and hope for better times — till the principles of British liberty and British law had become more generally diffused, and had forced their way into the hearts of my countrymen.

In the meantime I would endeavour to guard their interests — to protect their liberties; and, while Providence lent me health and strength, the independence of the press should never be violated in my hands. Nor is there a living thing beneath my roof 5 that would not aid me in this struggle; the wife who sits by my fireside, the children who play around my hearth; the orphan boys in my office, whom it is my pride and pleasure to instruct from day to day in the obligations they owe to their profession and their 10 country, would never suffer the press to be wounded through my side. We would wear the coarsest raiment; we would eat the poorest food; and crawl at night into the veriest hovel in the land to rest our weary limbs, but cheerful and undaunted hearts; and 15 these jobbing justices should feel, that one frugal and united family could withstand their persecution, defy their power, and maintain the freedom of the press. Yes, gentlemen, come what will, while I live, Nova Scotia shall have the blessing of an open and unshackled 20 press."

He was replied to by the attorney-general, and the jury was charged by the chief justice, whose instructions to the jury were decidedly unfavourable to the defendant. In summing up he said: "In my opinion, 25 the paper charged is a libel, and your duty is to state by your verdict that it is libellous."

It is needless to say that the court-house was thronged from beginning to end of the trial, which occupied two days. After the judge's charge the jury retired, but 30 they deliberated only ten minutes. When they filed into the box and pronounced their verdict — "Not guilty," the immense crowd in and out of the court-house burst into vociferous cheers. On leaving the

court-house, Howe was borne to his home upon the shoulders of the populace. Bands paraded the streets all night, and Howe was compelled during the course of the evening to address the crowd from the windows
5 of his house. He besought them to keep the peace, to enjoy the triumph in social intercourse round their own firesides, and to teach their children the names of the twelve men who had established the freedom of the press.

10 This prosecution for libel, by one sudden bound, placed Howe in a most conspicuous place in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen. Early in the next year, 1836, the House of Assembly was dissolved and Howe and William Annand¹ were chosen as the Liberal
15 candidates for the metropolitan county of Halifax.

¹ *William Annand.* The closest friendship existed between Howe and Annand up to the time that the former gave up the fight against confederation, and entered the government of Sir John A. Macdonald. Annand, who at that time was premier of Nova Scotia, felt that Howe had deserted the anti-confederation cause and the old friendship was broken.

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE

FROM "WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE" BY CHARLES
LINDSEY, EDITED WITH NUMEROUS ADDITIONS BY
G. G. S. LINDSEY

FEW men who have led a life of great mental activity long survive the abandonment of their accustomed habits of labour. Nor was it different with William Lyon Mackenzie. When he resigned his seat in the legislative assembly in 1858, few of his colleagues were equal to the endurance he underwent. It was no uncommon thing for him to burn the midnight oil till streaks of gray were visible in the eastern horizon. He would do this three or four nights in the week. Every one thought there were still many years of wear in his slender but wiry frame; but the seeds of mortality had been already sown in his system. During the last two years of his life he failed more rapidly than his most intimate friends were able to realize; and to declining health there supervened pecuniary embarrassments which cast a gloom over the close of his existence. But hopes of brighter days always cheered him even in the darkest hour of adversity, and he was constantly trying to inspire others, with whom he was in intimate relations, with the same feeling.

Of a highly sensitive nature and somewhat secretive, he was never fully understood, perhaps, even by his most intimate friends. There was no sacrifice which

he would not cheerfully make for his children; he could enter into all their childish feelings, and would at almost any time leave his studies to engage in their play; yet he was sometimes unapproachable. The
5 rude collisions with the world, in which he received so many hard knocks, would temporally weaken the springs of his elastic temper, and, till the fit was over, the gloom that crowded upon his thoughts would cast its dark shade on all around. In his children he took
10 the greatest pride; and the stern politician, who carried on so many relentless contests, wore the watch of his eldest daughter around his neck for twelve years after her death, in almost superstitious veneration of her who had passed away.

15 After his return to Canada,¹ his stern independence conciliated the respect of all parties. He was very far from being rich; but he taught the world this moral, that it is not necessary to be rich to be politically independent. Immediately after his return, Isaac Bu-
20 chanan,² with that princely munificence for which he was noted, offered to make him a gift of a thousand dollars; but he refused it, lest it should interfere with his independence of action. The late Robert Hay, afterwards M.P. for Centre Toronto in the House of

¹ *Return to Canada.* On February 1st, 1849, a bill granting complete amnesty for all offences arising out of the events of 1837-38, was assented to by Lord Elgin, as governor-general, after having been passed unanimously by both Houses of Parliament. Mackenzie returned to Canada in the following March.

² *Isaac Buchanan.* Buchanan was a Scotsman who came to Canada in 1830 and settled in Hamilton. He sat in the Parliament of Canada for many years as Conservative member for that city. He was a warm friend and admirer of Mackenzie.

Commons, generously offered to furnish his house from top to bottom — a kindness which was gratefully declined. Twice he was offered office under the government — once directly and once indirectly — but he treated the offers as little short of insults; such was his almost morbid jealousy of a covert attack on his independence. The county of York paid him some £300 due on account of previous legislative services; and the government paid for his services as Welland Canal director before the union. In 1856, some friends started a subscription for a "Mackenzie Homestead"; and after several years' exertions, some £1,250 were collected; of which £950 were invested in a house in Toronto, and the rest loaned by the committee to himself. Owing to a difference of opinion between himself and the committee, he inserted a notice in the public journals, in 1859, refusing to allow any more subscriptions — of which there were about fifteen hundred dollars outstanding — to be collected. From February, 1853, to the autumn of 1860, he published a weekly paper, *Mackenzie's Message*, but not with great regularity. Latterly he was unable, for various reasons, to give the business of the office the attention which it required; financial difficulties closed in around him, and hope, his constant companion, which had never before deserted him, failed him at last. The inevitable stood in his pathway, although he long refused to recognize it.

For months before he died it was painfully evident that his health was rapidly failing, but his stern will knew no yielding. He declined to admit his physical weakness, and, although complaining of dizziness in walking, persisted in taking this favourite exercise as long as it was possible. Even when confined to

his sick chamber, and when recovery was hopeless, he insisted upon his ability to regain his strength, and clung to life with a tenacity that was marvellous. He refused all medicines or stimulants, and it was only by strategy that these could be administered. Towards the close of his illness he was unconscious for days together, his speech, in the periods of fever which was consuming his vitality, recurring pathetically to the Gaelic of his early years. At other times, with mind and faculties active and apparently unclouded, he would insist upon rising and being dressed as for a journey, only to lie down again dispirited and exhausted. On the Sunday preceding his death his indomitable spirit made what proved to be its final effort. He had members of his family about him ministering to his simple wants; he received the visits of a number of old friends, with whom he had very touching interviews; and he listened reverently to the consolations of religion. During the following days he was for the most part unconscious of suffering, and of those who watched beside him, and on Thursday evening, August 28th, 1861, as the sun was sinking, he passed away. He died broken-hearted with disappointment; died because he no longer knew where to find the means of existence, and because his proud spirit forbade him to beg. From his most intimate friends, who might have helped him, he concealed the embarrassments of his pecuniary position. Such was the end of this extraordinary man whose powers of agitation, at one period of his life, gave him an almost absolute command over the masses in his adopted country.

The funeral on the following Saturday afternoon, from the family homestead on Bond Street, was at-

tended by a large concourse of people from the city and country. All classes and creeds, the high and the lowly, old opponents and old friends, were represented in the long *cortège* of mourning. Many came from distant places to pay their last tribute of respect to the memory of one whom they admired and loved. The remains were interred in the family plot in the Necropolis, with the simple religious service of the Presbyterian Church, of which the deceased was a member.¹ There, "in the long silence of peace," Mackenzie lies buried beside his devoted wife, and surrounded by twelve of his children, a granite column crowned by a Celtic cross marking their last resting-place.

The announcement of Mackenzie's death evoked many kindly tributes from the press of Canada, and the lapse of years has, as we have seen, added in grateful measure to the testimony of regard in which his name and services are held by the Canadian people. Considering the proximity of the event to the turbulent period in which he was so prominent an actor, it would have been natural to expect some harshness and severity to mingle, here and there, with the generous words which were published of him when "his tired life's story" came to an end. But of harshness or severity there was none. His appeal to arms against the tyranny of Sir Francis Bond Head² and the official party, of which Bond Head was the ruling spirit, was censured in some quarters; but the appeal, it must be

¹ A member. Mackenzie was one of the founders of St. Andrew's Church, Toronto.

² Sir Francis Bond Head. Sir Francis was lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada during the stirring events of 1837.

admitted, was not in vain. The constituency to which the censures were addressed, or which gave them any serious hearing, has been long since merged in one of wider influence and authority. Mackenzie, and the
5 Reformers of his day who enlisted in his cause, will be judged by the more deliberate and enlightened judgments of our own time, and by these they will not be condemned.

When it became known that his illness had termi-
10 nated fatally, the Toronto newspapers appeared in mourning columns, and with lengthy and appreciative obituaries. The local press in all parts of Canada was equally pronounced in its notices of the event. It was not forgotten that Mackenzie was not only a
15 veteran of a stormy and exasperating period in the political arena, but that he was also a pioneer and veteran of their own profession; that, as Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer¹ said of Cobbett,² he possessed "the spirit of change, of criticism, of combativeness, which is the
20 spirit of journalism; that he was not only this spirit embodied, but that he represented journalism, and fought the fight of journalism against authority, when it was still a doubt which would gain the day."

¹ *Bulwer.* Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, afterwards Lord Dalling, was a brother of Lord Lytton, the novelist. He occupied many important diplomatic positions. In 1868, he published *Historical Characters: Talleyrand, Cobbett, Mackintosh, and Canning.*

² *Cobbett.* William Cobbett (1762-1835) was a powerful political writer, and was constantly in trouble, owing to his freedom of speech. He was fined several times for libelling members of the British Government and in 1810 was sentenced to imprisonment for two years. He continued to publish *The Weekly Political Register* for thirty-three years.

Writing of Macaulay, in his beautiful little essay, "*Nil Nisi Bonum*,"¹ Thackeray says: "He is always in a storm of revolt and indignation against wrong, craft, tyranny. How he cheers heroic resistance; how he backs and applauds freedom struggling for its own; how he hates scoundrels ever so victorious and successful;" — words not inapplicable to Mackenzie, and that might have been said or written of him, ever and anon, in the vicissitudes of fortune that marked his chequered career. He was unquestionably one of the strong personalities of his time, and whatever be the reason, he has retained his hold on the imagination of the people. Old men of the rebellion period have recounted with pride how they were "out with Lyon Mackenzie in '37." Possessed of popular gifts, and of unswerving honesty and independence, he was animated by strong convictions, and, when needs be, could express them with persuasive eloquence. "He was an uncompromising friend of civil and religious liberty, and had an innate hatred of wrongdoing, injustice and oppression. This is the true test of his political propaganda. He encountered a thoroughly bad system of government and administration and enormous public abuses. These he persistently assailed, and, in the long and bitter conflict which closed with the rebellion, he received no quarter." Although not always right, he always believed he was right, and he had the power of inspiring that belief in others. He was what his physical features and make-up sug-

¹ "*Nil Nisi Bonum*." "De Mortuis nil nisi bonum" — "Say nothing but good of the dead." Thackeray's essay is a beautiful tribute to the memories of Macaulay and Washington Irving.

gest, a dynamic man, all energy, activity and force, capable of long sustained physical and mental exertion in the prosecution of his labours, masterful, impatient of opposition, suspicious of the political caucus, no friend of the "machine," and undaunted in any purpose by its unpopularity, difficulty, or danger. At the same time, as described by one who knew him well, he was "a pleasant companion and associate, full of vivacity and good humour and the ready mother wit of a Highlander. Despite all the buffetings of fortune, he never lost, even in his latest years, the freshness, buoyancy and brightness of youth. He frolicked with his children, delighted in their society, and was as young in heart as any of them."

Although not unwatchful of the currents of public opinion, "the great support of the State," Mackenzie struck down below the surface to the working of those social forces beneath, which seldom fail to influence communities in the discussion of public questions and the promotion of political movements. He believed in trusting the people, but he was not of those who thought that the people were never wrong. On the contrary, he thought they were wrong on many occasions, and he so declared with some bitterness; but he believed with Burke, "that in all disputes between them and their rulers, the presumption is at least upon a par in favour of the people;" and that when popular discontents are prevalent, something is amiss in the constitution or the administration. "The people have no interest in disorder," wrote Burke.¹ "When they do wrong, it is their error, and not their crime," adding

¹ Burke. The quotation in the text is from *Thoughts on the Present Discontents*.

the famous passage from the *Memoirs of Sully*¹ (whom he describes as a great man and minister of state and a zealous asserter of monarchy), that "the revolutions that come to pass in great states are not the result of chance, nor of popular caprice. . . . As for the popu- 5 lace, it is never from a passion for attack that it rebels, but from impatience of suffering." "A passage," said John Morley,² "which practical politicians and political students should bind about their necks and write upon the tables of their hearts." 10

The "impatience of suffering," thus emphasized by Lord Morley, had everything to do with inspiring and determining the public career of the man whose life story has now been told. The story is not perfect in every detail, but the readers of to-day are far enough 15 removed from the violent things which were said and done on both sides at that time, from the bitter warfare of the parties and the long train of mutual animosities to which it gave rise, more especially in the pre-con- federation years of our history, to regard with dispas- sionate feelings the character and work of the man 20 himself – to remember his unselfish patriotism, his noble integrity, his many and great services and sacrifices for the public welfare. These must always ensure him a high place in the affections of a people 25

¹ *Sully*. Maximilien de Bethune, Baron de Rosny, and Duc de Sully, was the famous finance minister of Henry IV of France, better known as Henry of Navarre. His *Memoirs* were published in four volumes between 1634 and 1662. Sully died in 1641.

² *John Morley*. Now Viscount Morley, Secretary of State for India in the government of Mr. Asquith. The quotation in the text is from Morley's *Burke* in the *English Men of Letters* series.

who have gained so much from his vindication of liberty and justice, and his advocacy of those great constitutional reforms which are inseparably connected with our present system of government. Posterity, 5 which generously veils the follies and frailties of public men who have honestly and patriotically served their country in their day and generation, can never forget the debt of gratitude which it owes to Mackenzie for the just cause which he made his own, and history, 10 in passing judgment, will not unfairly adjust the balance with respect to one whose faults and errors were so far overshadowed by his virtues.

GEORGE BROWN AND AMERICAN SLAVERY

FROM "GEORGE BROWN," BY JOHN LEWIS

IN his home in Scotland Brown had been imbued with a hatred of slavery.¹ He spent several years of his early manhood in New York, and felt in all its force the domination of the slave-holding element. Thence he moved to Canada, for many years the refuge 5 of the hunted slave. It is estimated that even before the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law,² there were twenty thousand coloured refugees in Canada. It was customary for these poor creatures to hide by day and to travel by night. When all other signs failed 10 they kept their eyes fixed on the North Star, whose light "seemed the enduring witness of the divine interest in their deliverance." By the system known as the "underground railway," the fugitive was passed from one friendly house to another. A code of signals 15 was used by those engaged in the work of mercy —

¹ *Hatred of slavery.* The first five pages of the volume from which this extract is taken deal with the early hatred of slavery shown by Brown, and his experience of the institution during the time that he lived in the United States.

² *Fugitive Slave Law.* This act was passed by Congress in an effort to compromise between the two extreme sections of the population. The law was even more drastic than indicated in the text. A negro accused of being a fugitive slave was not allowed a trial by jury. The mere statement under oath of the claimant settled the matter.

pass words, peculiar knocks and raps, a call like that of the owl. Negroes in transit were described as "fleece of wool," and "volumes of the irrepressible conflict bound in black."

5 The passage of the Fugitive Slave Law deprived the negro of his security in the free states, and dragged back into slavery men and women who had for years been living in freedom, and had found means to earn their bread and to build up little homes. Hence an
10 impetus was given to the movement towards Canada, which the slave-holders tried to check by talking freely of the rigours of the Canadian climate. Lewis Clark, the original of George Harris in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*¹ was told that if he went to Canada the British would
15 put his eyes out, and keep him in a mine for life. Another was told that the Detroit River was three thousand miles wide.

But the exodus to Canada went on, and the hearts of the people were moved to compassion by the arrival
20 of ragged and foot-sore wanderers. They found a warm friend in Brown, who paid the hotel bill of one for a week, gave fifty dollars to maintain a negro family, and besides numerous acts of personal kindness, filled the columns of the *Globe* with appeals on behalf of the
25 fugitives. Early in 1851 the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada was organized. The president was the Rev. Dr. Willis, afterwards principal of Knox Presbyterian College, and the names of Peter Brown,² George Brown,

¹ *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. This famous book, written by Harriet Beecher Stowe, "was an unjust statement regarding the actual and normal conditions of slavery, but it had a strong influence in creating a feeling in the North against the entire slavery system."

² *Peter Brown*. The father of George Brown.

and Oliver Mowat ¹ are found on the committee. The object of the society was "the extinction of slavery all over the world by means exclusively lawful and peaceable, moral and religious, such as the diffusion of useful information and argument by tracts, news- 5 papers, lectures, and correspondence, and by manifesting sympathy with the houseless and homeless victims of slavery flying to our soil." Concerts were given, and the proceeds applied in aid of the refugees.

At the annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society 10 in 1852, Mr. Brown moved a resolution expressing gratitude to those American clergymen who had exposed the atrocities of the Fugitive Slave Law. He showed how, before its enactment, slaves were continually escaping to the Northern States, where they were 15 virtually out of reach of their masters. There was a law enabling the latter to recover their property, but its edge was dulled by public opinion in the North, which was rapidly growing antagonistic to allowing the free states to become a hunting-ground for slave- 20 catchers. The South took alarm at the growth of this feeling, and procured the passage of a more stringent law. This law enabled the slave-holder to seize the slave wherever he found him, without warrant, and it forbade the freeman to shelter the refugee under 25 penalty of six months' imprisonment, a fine of one thousand dollars, and liability to a civil suit for damages to the same amount. The enforcement of the law was given to federal instead of to state officials. After

¹ *Oliver Mowat.* For twenty-four years Oliver Mowat was premier of Ontario. Subsequently he became minister of justice in the federal cabinet, retiring to assume the office of lieutenant-governor of his native province.

giving several illustrations of the working of the law, Mr. Brown proceeded to discuss the duty of Canada in regard to slavery. It was a question of humanity, of Christianity, and of liberty, in which all men were
5 interested. Canada could not escape the contamination of a system existing so near her borders. "We, too, are Americans; on us, as well as on them, lies the duty of preserving the honour of the continent. On us, as on them, rests the noble trust of shielding
10 free institutions."

Having long borne the blame of permitting slavery, the people of the North naturally expected that when the great struggle came they would receive the moral support of the civilized world in its effort to check and
15 finally to crush out the evil. They were shocked and disappointed when this support was not freely and generously given, and when sympathy with the South showed itself strongly in Great Britain. Brown dealt with this question in a speech delivered in Toronto
20 shortly after Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation.¹ He had just returned from Great Britain, and he said that in his six months' journey through England and Scotland, he had conversed with persons in all conditions of life, and he was sorry to say that general
25 sympathy was with the South. This did not proceed from any change in the feeling towards slavery. Hatred of slavery was as strong as ever, but it was not believed that African slavery was the real cause of the war, or that Mr. Lincoln sincerely desired to bring

¹ *Proclamation of emancipation.* On January 1st, 1863, President Lincoln issued his proclamation freeing the slaves in those states that were then in arms against the federal government.

the traffic to an end. This misunderstanding he attributed to persistent misrepresentation. There were men who rightly understood the merits of the contest, and among these he placed the members of the British ministry. The course of the ministry he de- 5 scribed as one of scrupulous neutrality, and firm resistance to the invitations of other powers to interfere in the contest.

Brown himself never for a moment failed to understand the nature of the struggle, and he showed an 10 insight, remarkable at that time, into the policy of Lincoln. The anti-slavery men of Canada, he said, had an important duty to discharge. "We, who have stood here on the borders of the republic for a quarter of a century, protesting against slavery as the sum of 15 all human villainies — we, who have closely watched every turn of the question — we, who have for years acted and sympathized with the good men of the republic in their efforts for the freedom of their country — we, who have a practical knowledge of the 20 atrocities of the 'peculiar institution,' learned from the lips of the panting refugee upon our shores — we, who have in our ranks men all known on the other side of the Atlantic as life-long abolitionists — we, I say, are in a position to speak with confidence to the 25 anti-slavery men of Great Britain — to tell them that they have not rightly understood this matter — to tell them that slavery is the one great cause of the American rebellion, and that the success of the North is the death-knell of slavery. Strange, after 30 all that has passed, that a doubt of this should remain."

It was true, he said, that Lincoln was not elected as an abolitionist. Lincoln declared, and the Repub-

lican party declared, that they stood by the constitution; that they would, so far as the constitution allowed, restrict slavery and prevent its extension to new territory. Yet they knew that the constitution
5 gave them all they desired. "Well did they know, and well did the Southerners know, that any anti-slavery president and congress, by their direct power of legislation, by their control of the public patronage, and by the application of the public moneys, could
10 not only restrict slavery within its present boundaries, but could secure its ultimate abolition. The South perfectly comprehended that Mr. Lincoln, if elected, might keep within the letter of the constitution and yet sap the foundation of the whole slave system, and
15 they acted accordingly."

In answering the question, "Why did not the North let the slave states go in peace¹?" Brown freely admitted the right of revolution. "The world no longer believes in the divine right of either kings or presidents

¹ *Go in peace.* Lincoln was elected president of the United States in November, 1860. On the 17th of November South Carolina withdrew from the Union, and her example was followed before February 1st, 1861, by six other states. On the 4th of February, 1861, the Confederate states were organized under the provisional presidency of Jefferson Davis. On the 4th of March, Lincoln was inaugurated as president of the United States. Five days later the Confederate Congress met and passed a bill for the organization of an army. On the 13th of April, Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, garrisoned by United States troops, was bombarded by the Confederate forces. On the 15th of April Lincoln issued his call for seventy-five thousand troops to suppress the rebellion. Thus began the Civil War between the Northern and Southern States which lasted for more than four years, and cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of men.

to govern wrong; but those who seek to change an established government by force of arms assume a fearful responsibility — a responsibility which nothing but the clearest and most intolerable injustice will acquit them for assuming." Here was a rebellion, 5 not to resist injustice but to perpetuate injustice; not to deliver the oppressed from bondage, but to fasten more hopelessly than ever the chains of slavery on four millions of human beings. Why not let the slave states go? Because it would have been wrong, be- 10 cause it would have built up a great slave power that no moral influence could reach, a power that would have overawed the free Northern States, added to its territory, and reestablished the slave trade. Had Lincoln permitted the slave states to go, and to form 15 such a power, he would have brought enduring contempt upon his name, and the people of England would have been the first to reproach him.

Brown argued, as he had done in 1852, that Canada could not be indifferent to the question, whether the 20 dominant power of the North American continent should be slave or free. Holding that liberty had better securities under the British than under the American system, he yet believed that the failure of the American experiment would be a calamity and a 25 blow to free institutions all over the world. For years the United States had been the refuge of the oppressed in every land; millions had fled from poverty in Europe to find happiness and prosperity there. From these had been wafted back to Europe 30 new ideas of the rights of the people. With the fall of the United States this impetus to freedom, world-wide in its influence, would cease. Demands for popular rights and free constitutions would be met by the

despotic rulers of Europe with the taunt that in the United States free constitutions and popular rights had ended in disruption and anarchy. "Let us not forget that there have been, and still are, very different
5 monarchies in the world from that of our own beloved queen; and assuredly there are not so many free governments on earth that we should hesitate to desire earnestly the success of that one nearest to our own, modelled from our own, and founded by men
10 of our own race. I do most heartily rejoice, for the cause of liberty, that Mr. Lincoln did not patiently acquiesce in the dismemberment of the republic."

The Civil War in the United States raised the most
15 important question of foreign policy with which the public men of Canada were called upon to deal in Brown's career. The dismemberment of the British empire would hardly have exercised a more profound influence on the human race and on world-wide aspira-
20 tions for freedom, than the dismemberment of the United States and the establishment on this continent of a mighty slave empire. Canada could not be indifferent to the issue. How long would the slave-holding power, which coerced the North into consenting
25 to the Fugitive Slave Law, have tolerated the existence of a free refuge for slaves across the lakes? Either Canada would have been forced to submit to the humiliation of joining in the hunt for men, or the British empire would have been obliged to fight the
30 battle that the North fought under the leadership of Lincoln. In the face of this danger confronting Canada and the empire and freedom, it was a time to forget smaller international animosities. Brown was one of the few Canadian statesmen who saw the situa-

tion clearly and rose to the occasion. For twenty years by his public speeches, and still more through the generous devotion of the *Globe*¹ to the cause, he aided the cause of freedom² and of the union of the lovers of freedom.

5

¹ *The Globe*. The first number of the *Globe* was published by George Brown on the 5th of March, 1844.

² *Cause of freedom*. "When I was a very young man," said George Brown, denouncing the Fugitive Slave Law before a Toronto audience, "I used to think that if I ever had to speak before such an audience as this, I would choose African Slavery as my theme in preference to any other topic. The subject seemed to afford the widest scope for rhetoric and for fervid appeals to the best of human sympathies. These thoughts arose far from here, while slavery was a thing at a distance, while the horrors of the system were unrealized, while the mind received it as a tale and discussed it as a principle. But, when you have mingled with the thing itself, when you have encountered the atrocities of the system, when you have seen three millions of human beings held as chattels by their Christian countrymen, when you have seen the free institutions, the free press and the free pulpit of America linked in the unrighteous task of upholding the traffic, when you have realized the manacle, and the lash, and the sleuth-hound, you think no more of rhetoric, the mind stands appalled at the monstrous iniquity, mere words lose their meaning, and facts, cold facts, are felt to be the only fit arguments."

JOHN A. MACDONALD AND HIS CABINET MINISTERS

FROM "SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD," BY GEORGE R.
PARKIN

THE main basis of Macdonald's power, and of the hold which he retained for so long a time upon the confidence of the Canadian people must unquestionably be considered to have lain in his solid qualities
5 as a statesman, his sound judgment in dealing with the present, and foresight in regard to the future. But these qualities, which fix a statesman's place in history, would scarcely have carried him successfully through his long administrative career had they not
10 been supplemented by others equally rare: keen insight into human nature — a singular capacity for the management of men — skill in parliamentary tactics — naturally high spirits which made light of difficulties — fertility of resource in dealing with them when
15 they arose, and a personal liking for the political game, however perplexing and complicated it might become. No one knew so well as he the truth of his own saying that "Canada is a hard country to govern." When we remember that his cabinets, selected with a
20 view to the representation of all important interests, contained Liberals and Conservatives — men not only of British and French birth, but with British and French prejudices — Roman Catholics and Orangemen — advocates of Irish Home Rule and keen oppo-

ents of that measure — men from provinces thousands of miles apart and with widely divergent interests — it is impossible not to admire the skill with which he drew and held them together in the early days of Confederation, before the national sentiment of Canada 5 had as yet been consolidated.

That he did not fear to have strong men around him was amply proved in the selections made for his earlier cabinets. If this was not so apparent in some of his later ministries the fault may have lain, not so 10 much in any fear of strong colleagues, as in the lack of material on which to draw. It must be remembered that he was bound to make his cabinets represent not only different provinces, but also different interests, so that his field of choice was often extremely limited. 15 “Let the country give me good material,” he used to say, “and I will give you strong cabinets.” Indeed no small part of his success was due to the care he used in selecting colleagues of ability and in giving each an adequate opportunity for the exercise of his 20 special talents. So, also, the devotion felt towards him by his followers sprang largely from his loyalty to them through the many vicissitudes of political life, and the recognition which he was always ready to give to meritorious service. No doubt the strongest 25 of the men who came around him when Confederation was established had already been marked out by public opinion in their different provinces as natural leaders. But it was the most signal proof of Macdonald’s ruling ability that the leadership assigned 30 to him in 1867 among this group of powerful men was at no time questioned, and was steadily maintained and confirmed in the long series of succeeding years

Of the men who assisted Macdonald in working out the confederation of Canada and securing the large results which flowed from that epoch-making measure, three at least demand special mention, both for the
5 weight which they brought to his councils, the length and importance of their service, and the loyalty of their allegiance throughout life to himself and to the national ideals which he and they held in common.

Circumstances had drawn him at an early period
10 into close alliance with Georges Etienne Cartier,¹ and it was the coöperation of the two men which for years made the government of the country possible in the difficult period before Confederation. Cartier was a typical French-Canadian, and commanded, as no other
15 man of his generation, the confidence of his compatriots. In his impetuous youth he had joined in the rebellion of 1837, and after the defeat of the rebels he fled with Papineau to the United States. He returned under the general amnesty of 1839, and from that time
20 forward sought to maintain the rights and forward the interests of his people by strictly constitutional means. Attracted by the largeness of spirit and the readiness for conciliation and compromise which he found in Macdonald; he formed with him a political alliance
25 based on equal consideration for the rightful claims of both nationalities. The key to Canadian politics for many a year rested in the fact that the French-Canadians trusted Cartier, and Cartier trusted Macdonald. This alliance, strengthened as time went on by sincere
30 personal friendship, lasted through all the anxious years that led up to Confederation. It was through

¹ *Georges Etienne Cartier.* See *Biographical Sketches* in the Appendix, page 141.

Cartier that Macdonald so long retained his hold on Quebec. Without Cartier's loyal help it would scarcely have been possible, when the effort for union came, to allay the anxieties of French-Canadians lest they should be swallowed up and their individuality be lost 5 in the large proposed confederacy, plainly destined in the course of time to be preponderantly British.

One shadow, it must be acknowledged, did come at last to mar for a time the friendship which had so long existed between the two men. When Confedera- 10 tion had become an accomplished fact, and the sovereign wished to recognize the labours of the men who had brought it about, Macdonald was made a K.C.B.,¹ while only a C.B. was assigned to Cartier and the other leading delegates. To Cartier this was a 15 stinging disappointment, conscious as he was of having performed the most conspicuous and difficult feat of all in having by his personal address and influence won over to the support of Confederation a timorous and reluctant province, which might have proved 20 hopelessly obstructive. He felt it also, no doubt, as a slur upon the French race whose chief representative he was, and whose equality with their English-speaking fellow-subjects was a principle on which no shadow of doubt could be allowed to rest. He blamed Mac- 25 donald for the discrimination, though apparently it was entirely due to the action of the imperial authorities, as no intimation had previously been given of Her Majesty's intention to any of the recipients of

¹ *K.C.B.* Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath. *C.B.* is a Commander of the Order of the Bath, without the dignity of knighthood.

honours. The mistake was remedied¹ in the following year, when, doubtless on Macdonald's recommendation, Cartier was created a baronet of the United Kingdom, a dignity higher than that assigned to Sir John himself. The correspondence of later years shows that complete cordiality was restored between the old friends. When Cartier was defeated² in the election of 1872, in Montreal East, an event which hastened his end, Macdonald wrote to Lord Lisgar³: "I do not anticipate that he will live a year, and with all his faults, or, rather, with all his little eccentricities, he will not leave so good a Frenchman behind him — certainly not one who can fill his place in public life. I cannot tell you how I sorrow at this. We have acted together since 1854, and never had a serious difference."

Macdonald at once found a new and safe seat for his defeated colleague. Cartier went to England in the autumn of 1872, in the hope of having his health restored, but died there in 1873. To the last the two

¹ *Mistake was remedied.* Sir Charles Tupper, who was in England at the time the honours were announced, at once wrote to the Duke of Buckingham, drawing his attention to the difficulty. This tactfully written letter is published in full in *Papineau, Cartier*, by Alfred D. De Celles, Volume X of *The Makers of Canada* series.

² *Cartier was defeated.* De Celles, Cartier's biographer, says: "Would to heaven that he had not faced the howling mob who at several meetings, forgetting that he had turned the tide of prosperity towards the commercial metropolis of Canada, hooted their old idol, and pelted him with stones and missiles! He would have been spared an ugly sight which added humiliation to his defeat."

³ *Lord Lisgar.* Lisgar was governor general of Canada from 1868 to 1872.

old colleagues were in the most intimate and friendly correspondence. "Cartier was as bold as a lion. He was just the man I wanted. But for him Confederation could not have been carried." Such was the tribute Macdonald paid to him on the day when he 5 unveiled the statue of his friend¹ at Ottawa.

The Maritime Provinces, fruitful in vigorous political thinkers, contributed for Macdonald's assistance two men of altogether exceptional ability. Charles Tupper² was not included in the first Dominion cabinet; but, 10 once in office, became the most powerful of the colleagues who helped Macdonald to carry out his large schemes of constructive statesmanship. He and Macdonald first met at the Quebec conference, when the latter at once recognized in the Nova Scotian leader 15 the qualities which, having placed him at the head of affairs in his own province, were destined to make him a power in the larger field of Dominion politics. The recognition of strength and common purpose was mutual; and before the conference had broken up the 20 two men had made an informal alliance, which was strictly adhered to through all the vicissitudes of the coming years.

Never was Macdonald's intuitive capacity for discovering the essential man for the work that had to 25 be done, exercised more intelligently than in this case. In the reconciliation of Nova Scotia³ to Confederation,

¹ *Statue of his friend.* A striking statue of Sir Georges Cartier ornaments Parliament Hill at Ottawa.

² *Charles Tupper.* See *Biographical Sketches* in the Appendix, page 141.

³ *The reconciliation of Nova Scotia.* Nova Scotia was at the beginning unalterably opposed to Confederation. At the first general election after the formation of the Dominion,

in carrying out a great, expensive and hazardous railway policy,¹ in the establishment of a national fiscal system,² in making Canadian expansion compatible with complete allegiance to the empire, the aid which
5 Macdonald received from Sir Charles Tupper can scarcely be exaggerated. In him great natural ability and power as a platform speaker were united with a splendid optimism about his country, a courage that feared nothing, and a resoluteness of purpose which
10 despised any obstacle with which he could be confronted.

If Macdonald looked upon Cartier as an essential factor in effecting Confederation, he would probably have felt no less strongly in reference to the part which
15 Tupper played in carrying out the great railway policy which confirmed and completed the work of union. The speeches by which he defended that policy — the forecasts which he made of north-western development — were at the time ridiculed by the Liberal party in
20 parliament and the Liberal press in the country as exaggerated and absurd. Though the fulfilment of

Tupper was the only member returned who was not in favour of the withdrawal of the province from the union, while the local legislature was unanimous in opposition. It was the tactful leadership of Tupper that gradually wore down the objectors, and secured the steadfast loyalty of Nova Scotia to the larger Canada.

¹ *Railway policy.* The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which was designed to connect British Columbia with the Central Provinces, and which, by means of the Intercolonial, gave connection with the Atlantic seaboard.

² *National fiscal system.* The "National Policy" based on the adequate protection of Canadian industries, which was the battle cry of the Conservatives during the campaign which returned them to power in 1878.

his prophecies was somewhat delayed, he has lived to see his critics put to confusion by the ample justification of his high hopes which time and events have brought about. It is only fair to say that he has also received the frank apology and recantation of more 5 than one great organ of public opinion which once denounced his projects as visionary and fraught with ruin to the country.

Of scarcely less influence in moulding the early history of the Dominion was Samuel Leonard Tilley,¹ 10 who at first took his seat in the cabinet as minister of customs, and later for many years was minister of finance. Previous to Confederation he had long been the foremost figure in the public life of New Brunswick, and it was his weight of character and tenacity of pur- 15 pose which more than anything else determined that wavering province to commit itself finally to the scheme. Ability in administration and patriotic zeal were in him combined with a strength of moral purpose and a steadfast uprightness which enabled him to 20 go through a long political career with less of the soil of politics than any of his contemporaries of equal standing. It was upon Tilley's financial ability and the confidence which his character inspired among business men that Macdonald chiefly relied when 25 it became necessary to put into actual operation the national policy of protection for native industries. The system which he introduced has remained the settled policy of the country, accepted practically by all parties, for more than a quarter of a century. 30

It is perhaps the highest of all tributes to the genius

¹ *Samuel Leonard Tilley.* See *Biographical Sketches* in the Appendix, page 141.

of Macdonald that he was able to draw to his support a group of men of the weight and worth of Cartier, Tupper and Tilley, and retain through a long series of years their loyal devotion to him as a leader. Each in his own way a commanding personality, they were of one accord in following Macdonald with unswerving fidelity through all the vicissitudes of his fortune. Along with him they grasped and held tenaciously the idea of a great and united Canada forming an integral part of the empire, and to that end devoted the work of their lives. Many co-workers assisted in the great task. But probably every one of the long list¹ of ministers who served with Macdonald in the Dominion cabinet would have agreed that to Cartier, Tupper and Tilley was due a niche in Canadian history peculiar to themselves, and that something would be lacking in the perspective of Macdonald's career if their names were not specially associated with it.

¹ *Long list.* Sir John A. Macdonald was premier of Canada from July 1st, 1867, to November 6th, 1873, and again from October 17th, 1878, to June 6th, 1891; in all nearly twenty years.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

BROCK, ISAAC, was born in Guernsey, one of the Channel Islands, on October 6, 1769. At the age of fifteen he entered the army, and by 1797 had reached the rank of senior lieutenant-colonel of the 49th Regiment. In 1798 he saw service in Holland and was wounded at Egmont-op-Zee. In 1801 he took part in the bombardment of Copenhagen under Lord Nelson. In 1802 he was sent with his regiment to Canada. In June, 1806, he was made commander-in-chief of the forces in Canada, and in 1808 was raised to the rank of brigadier-general. In 1811 he became major-general. In the next year he was appointed president and administrator of Upper Canada, during the absence of the lieutenant-governor. In June, 1812, war broke out between Great Britain and the United States. He at once took the field to repel the invasion of Canada by the Americans. On August 16, 1812, he compelled General Hull, with 2500 men, to surrender at Detroit. For this service he received the honour of knighthood. On October 13, 1812, he was killed at the Battle of Queenston Heights.

"Brock's name sounds to-day in Canada as the watchword of the patriot, and no bugle blast could call the loyal to arms more quickly than a demand that they should emulate the heroic Brock. The traveller who approaches Queenston Heights, from whatever quarter, can see the lofty column which the people of this land have erected to his memory standing boldly out against the skyline to inform the whole world that patriotism still lives in Canada. If ever the men of Ontario need a rallying-ground against any future invader they will find one on Queenston Heights beneath the shadow of the monument they have reared to General Brock." — *James Hannay*.

BROWN, GEORGE, was born at Edinburgh, Scotland, on November 29, 1818. In 1838 he accompanied his father to New York, where he remained until 1843, when he removed to Toronto. In the next year he founded the *Globe*, published at first as a weekly, but soon as a daily. In 1852 he entered Parliament, where he became a leading figure on the side of

the Reform party. In 1858 he joined Mr. A. A. Dorion in forming a government, but held office only for three days. In 1864 he joined the coalition government formed for the purpose of securing the confederation of the provinces, but resigned in the next year. He bent all his energies towards the carrying out of the project, and took a prominent part in the various conferences. After confederation he opposed the government of Sir John A. Macdonald, and was a powerful factor in the overthrow of that leader in 1873. In the same year he was called to the Senate. He continued to edit the *Globe* until his death. In March, 1880, he was shot by a disappointed employee, and died from the effects of the wound on May 9, following.

"As a journalist Brown touched life at many points. He was a man of varied interests — railways, municipal affairs, prison reform, education, agriculture, all came within the range of his duty as a journalist and his interest and sympathy as a man. Those stout-hearted men, who amid all the wrangling and intrigue of the politicians were turning the wilderness of Canada into a garden, gave to Brown in large measure their confidence and affection. He, on his part, valued their friendship more than any victory that could be won in the political game. That was the standard by which he always asked to be judged." — *John Lewis*.

CARLETON, GUY, was born at Strabane, Ireland, on September 3, 1724. He entered the army as an ensign in 1742, and in 1757 had reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He served at Louisbourg, and was quartermaster-general under Wolfe at Quebec. He was wounded at the Battle of the Plains, but not seriously. In 1766 he became governor of Canada. During his administration the Quebec Act, 1774, was passed. He commanded the British forces in Canada during the early part of the Revolutionary War, and bravely defended the country against the invaders. He was superseded by Burgoyne as commander-in-chief, and resigned his office in 1778. He returned to England and lived in retirement for some years. In 1782 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, and held this position until the close of the war. As a reward for his services he was raised to the peerage as Lord Dorchester. In 1786 he was again appointed governor of Canada, and during his second term assisted in the passage of the Constitutional Act of 1791. He retired from the governorship in 1796, and spent his remaining years in retirement in England. He died on November 10, 1808.

"Carleton's jealousy for the honour of the British Crown and impatience of everything mean, dishonest, or unjust that would cast a slur on it, was a leading note in his career. His kindness of heart was a byword. Of strong personality and extreme independence of character, he was never swayed for a moment by what men might say or think of him; but his instincts were true and his heart was sound. Even those who suffered, as a rule justly, from the first never denied the second. Though distinctly a *grand seigneur* and with a reserved manner, his qualities of head and heart must have been all the greater to procure for him the large measure of affection and esteem with which he was generally regarded." — *A. G. Bradley.*

CARTIER, GEORGES ÉTIENNE, was born at St. Antoine, Quebec, on September 6, 1814. He studied law, and in 1835 was called to the bar. He took part in the Rebellion of 1837, and was forced to flee to the United States, but was soon allowed to return. He entered Parliament in 1848 as a Conservative. He was a member of various governments from 1855 to 1867, always occupying a leading place. He was a pronounced advocate of the confederation of the provinces, and it was largely through his influence that the people of Quebec were induced to give their consent to the plan. He entered the government of Sir John A. Macdonald in 1867 as minister of militia. In 1868 he was created a baronet. He died in England on May 20, 1873.

"What strikes one most in Cartier's complex nature, is that he takes hold of every question from the highest point of view. He has never been seen to shun any responsibility by appealing to popular prejudices which always offer an easy retreat. In whatever situation he is placed he faces it boldly and nobly. Very few men have understood as well as he did the situation of the French race. Very few have had a clearer conception of the duties connected with that situation." — *Sir Wilfrid Laurier.*

FRONTENAC, LOUIS DE BUADE, COMTE DE, was born in France in 1620. He entered the army in 1635 and at once saw active service. His military career in Europe was a distinguished one. He was a colonel at the age of twenty-three and a brigadier-general at twenty-six. In 1672 he was sent to Canada as governor, but his ten-year term of office was a stormy one. He kept the Indians in check, but he was constantly quarrelling with the bishop and with his colleagues in office. He was recalled in 1682, and for some years lived in neglect and obscurity. His successor as governor proved too weak to deal with

the Indians, who terrorized the colony, and committed frightful excesses. In 1689 he was again sent to Canada, on the outbreak of the war with England. His splendid courage and fine generalship soon made itself felt. The Indians were subdued and ceased to be a menace to the colony. He successfully defended Quebec against the English, and carried the war into the English settlements, where his name was both feared and hated. He continued to govern Canada until his death on November 28, 1698.

"Compounded of faults and virtues, Frontenac's was a character that appealed strongly to average human nature. Common people understood, admired, and trusted him. His faults were those common, everyday ones, which it is not impossible to forgive; and he had the more than compensating virtues of courage, decision, simplicity, underlying kindness, and humour. His nature, vehement, turbulent, and self-asserting throughout his early and middle manhood, was gaining towards the end that ripeness in which, according to Shakespeare, lies the whole significance of life." — *W. D. Le Sueur*.

HOWE, JOSEPH, was born near Halifax, Nova Scotia, on December 13, 1804. He entered a newspaper office at the age of thirteen, and worked his way upwards, until in 1828 he became sole editor and proprietor of the *Nova Scotian*. In 1835 he was charged with libelling the magistrates of Halifax, but was acquitted by the jury. In 1836 he entered Parliament and began his long struggle for responsible government, a contest which ended finally in its triumphant establishment. He held many important offices, and in 1863 became premier of his native province. He carried out also during this time several commissions from the imperial government. He opposed with all his energy and ability the entrance of Nova Scotia into Confederation, and carried his objections even to the Imperial Parliament. He soon saw, however, that it would be useless to oppose the project further, and, after securing better terms for his province, in 1869 he entered the government of Sir John A. Macdonald as provincial secretary, subsequently becoming secretary of state. In 1873 he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, but survived his appointment only a few weeks. He died at Halifax on June 1, 1873.

"Howe's great thoughts, his heroic actions, and his mighty achievements are not alone the heritage of his country, but the inspiration of the young men who are to carry forward its destinies. When Canada has achieved, as it is fast achiev-

ing, a recognized place among the puissant nations of the world, and the British empire has attained the dominance due to union and enlightened virtue, Joseph Howe will occupy a conspicuous niche among the authors and heroes of its glory." — *J. W. Longley.*

MACDONALD, JOHN ALEXANDER, was born at Glasgow, Scotland, on January 11, 1815, and five years later removed with his parents to Canada. He studied law, was called to the bar in 1836, and began the practice of his profession at Kingston. He was highly successful, and in 1844 was chosen, in the Conservative interest, to represent Kingston in the legislature. Three years later he became receiver-general, and from that time until his death, with the exception of a few short intervals, was continuously in office. He was largely instrumental in bringing about the confederation of the provinces, and when, on July 1, 1867, the new Dominion of Canada came into existence, he was invited to become its first premier. He was also knighted as a reward for his services. Subsequently he was summoned to the Privy Council, and received the Grand Cross of the Bath. In 1871 he was one of the British commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Washington. He was defeated in 1873, and was leader of the opposition until 1878, when he was again returned to power. He remained at the head of the government during the remainder of his life. He died on June 6, 1891.

"Macdonald's long experience in public affairs; his unrivalled knowledge of the conditions with which he had to deal; his unequalled skill in manipulating the various factors in the political problem; his freedom from fanaticism; his high sense of courtesy in political life; his enthusiastic faith in the future of Canada; his consistent loyalty to the great imperial idea, all combined to make him stand out among his fellows as by far the most conspicuous and influential man in the Dominion." — *George R. Parkin.*

MACKENZIE, ALEXANDER, was born in 1763 at Stornoway, on the Island of Lewes, on the west coast of Scotland. In 1779 he came to Canada and threw in his lot with the fur-traders. After five years' experience at Montreal and Detroit, he was placed in charge of operations in the far north. In 1787 he was instrumental in organizing the Northwest Company, the great rival of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1789 he made a dash to the Arctic Ocean, following the course of the river subsequently named for him. On July 22, 1795, he reached the Pacific Ocean by land, after an arduous and dan-

gerous journey. For some years he was mixed up with the quarrels of the fur-traders, playing a leading part throughout. In 1801 he published an account of his travels, and in the next year was knighted. For some years he had a seat in the Parliament of Lower Canada. In 1808 he returned to Scotland. He died on March 12, 1820.

"It was the custom of the trading companies to give positions of trust only to men of ripe years and experience. Seldom was a man known to be promoted to a commissioned office while under forty years of age. That Alexander Mackenzie, at the age of twenty-four, should be placed in charge of so difficult and important a district as Athabaska was an unheard of thing, but it simply showed that this man, so honoured at an early age, was destined to be one of the master minds of the fur-trade." — *George Bryce*.

MACKENZIE, WILLIAM LYON, was born at Dundee, Scotland, on March 12, 1795. Owing to the death of his father, he was obliged early to work for his own support. His business enterprises were not successful, and in 1820 he emigrated to Canada. Here he conducted various businesses, and finally began the publication of the *Colonial Advocate*, at first at Queenston, and afterwards at Toronto. In his paper he was an uncompromising opponent of the governing party, to whom he made himself peculiarly obnoxious. In 1826 an attack was made upon his printing office, its contents destroyed, and the type thrown into the bay. For this outrage he obtained substantial damages. In 1828 he was elected to the legislature, subsequently being expelled five times. In 1834 he became the first mayor of Toronto. He continued to oppose the governor, and at last, in 1837, led an armed insurrection against the government. The outburst was quickly quelled, and after a short stand at Navy Island, in the Niagara River, he took refuge in the United States. He returned to Canada in 1849, and in the next year was elected to Parliament, where he sat until 1858. He died at Toronto on August 28, 1861.

"A man of very great, though sometimes misdirected, ability and energy, Mackenzie played a great part in his adopted country, and exerted a very important influence over its material and political interests. No history of Canada can be complete in which his name does not occupy a conspicuous, and, we must add, notwithstanding his errors, an honourable position. Whatever may have been the means he employed, his aims were honest and public spirited. He was no money hunter; he was the friend of purity and economy in the ad-

ministration of public affairs. Let no man who values the political freedom and enlightenment we enjoy, fail to give a meed of praise to one who struggled for long years, amidst enormous difficulties, to secure for his country a free constitution and an efficient administration of affairs. He was at all times a man of impulse, prompt in action, full of courage and fire. No danger could deter him from the accomplishment of his designs; his courage commanded the admiration of his bitterest enemies. With many faults, Mackenzie is borne in affectionate and grateful remembrance by hundreds, we might say, thousands, of the honest yeomanry of Upper Canada, who recall his early labours on their behalf, and bear willing testimony that he never took part in a job, never advocated a measure, which he did not believe to be for the public good. Their regard for him is his best monument." — *The Toronto Globe*.

TILLEY, SAMUEL LEONARD, was born at Gagetown, New Brunswick, on May 8, 1818. He engaged in business life, and in 1850 was elected to the legislature of his province to represent St. John. In 1854 he became provincial secretary, and held office for two years. In 1856 he was defeated at the polls, but was back in the legislature and in office within a year. Shortly afterwards he became premier. He remained in office until 1865, when his party was defeated on the confederation issue. He strongly supported the project, and succeeded finally in carrying his province with him on the question. In 1867 he entered the government of Sir John A. Macdonald, and remained in the cabinet until 1873, when he became lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick. He resigned this position in 1878, to assist Sir John A. Macdonald at the general elections, and on the return of the Conservatives in that year, he became minister of finance. He continued in the government until 1885, when he again became lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick. In 1879 he was knighted. He died on June 25, 1896.

"Tilley's capacity for friendship was great, and his friends might be numbered by thousands, for he had a peculiar faculty of strongly attracting men to himself. This may be ascribed, in part, to the magnetism of a buoyant and strong nature, but it was more largely due to the extreme simplicity of his character, which remained wholly unspoiled by the favours which fortune had showered upon him. No man, however humble, had any difficulty in obtaining an interview with Sir Leonard Tilley; he was every inch a gentleman, and was, therefore, as polite to the poorest labourer as to the richest in

the land. Such a man could not fail to be loved even by those who had been his most bitter opponents in former years, when he was in active political life." — *The St. John Telegraph*.

TUPPER, CHARLES, was born at Amherst, Nova Scotia, on July 2, 1821. He studied at Edinburgh University, and in 1843 graduated with the degree of Doctor of Medicine. He practised his profession for some time, and in 1855 was elected to the legislature. In the next year he became provincial secretary, and in 1864 premier of his province. He was a strong supporter of confederation, and succeeded in carrying the project through the Nova Scotia legislature, although the people generally were in strong opposition. He was invited to enter the first Dominion cabinet, but declined on the ground that his acceptance of office would put difficulties in the way of his leader, Sir John A. Macdonald. In 1870, however, he became president of the council, and continued in office until the downfall of the Conservatives in 1873. In 1878, when the Conservatives returned to power, he became minister of public works, and later, minister of railways and canals. In 1884 he was appointed Canadian high commissioner in London, and held this office, with a brief interval, until 1896. In this year he again entered the government as secretary of state, and a few months later became premier. His government was, however, defeated at the polls. He remained as leader of the opposition until 1900, when he retired. In 1888 he was made a baronet. In 1909, he still enjoys his usual health and strength.



